The Social Contract

Vol. X, No. 2 Winter 1999-2000

Open Borders: Gateway for Criminals and Terrorists

Highlights

The immigration restriction movement has lost a knowledgeable and committed writer with the untimely death of Richard Estrada.

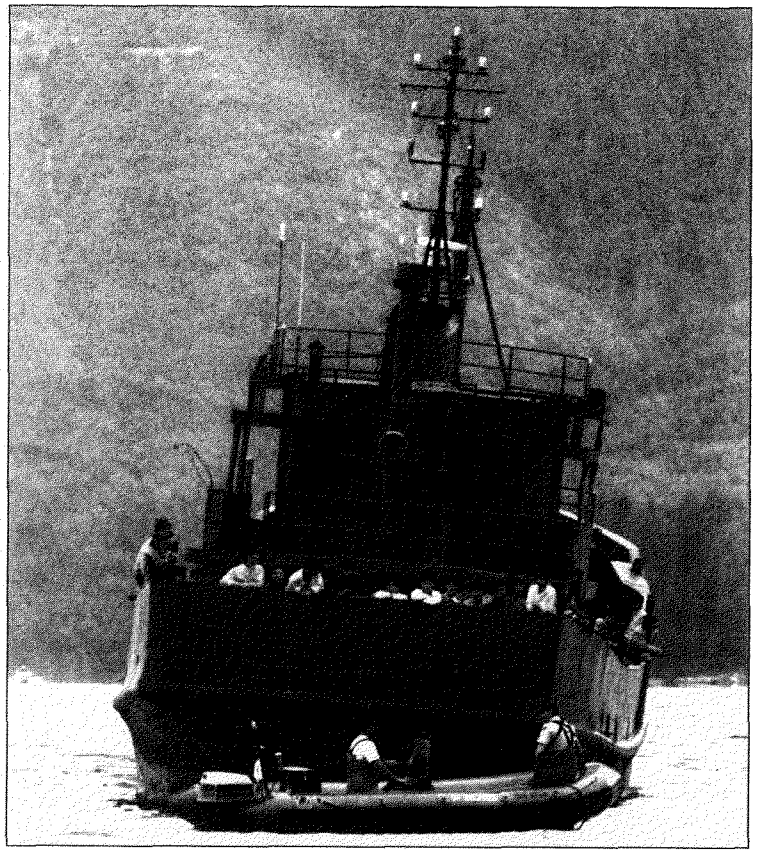
Before the House Immigration Sub-committee, law enforcement officials and border agents deplored the handling of criminal aliens; the thin line of protection at our northern borders.

Mark Craig describes the long-standing and lucrative business of smuggling Chinese.

In his 'Washington Notepad' report, Roy Beck explains the defeat of amnesties in the recent Congress, but warns that proponents will try again.

Brenda Walker argues that our openness to multicul-turalism means fewer rights for women.

Eight books are reviewed including Garrett Hardin's *Creative Altruism*.



In a special essay, John Attarian writes that 'economism' amounts to a new secular religion.
see p. 121

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract *journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:*

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations. What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

The Social Contract *explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.*

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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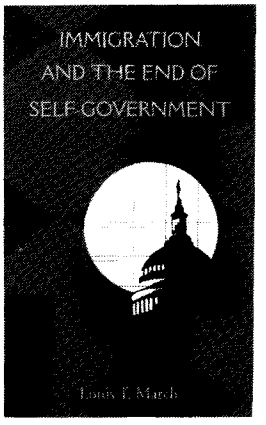
Immigration and the End of Self-government
by Louis T. March

Cheap labor, forced political correctness and unending ethnic tension are now part of the political and cultural landscape. Runaway immigration is changing America's body politic and our very form of government.

'This book shows how mass immigration is undermining the American way of government established by our nation's Founders. Every American concerned about the future of their country and their children needs to read *Immigration and the End of Self-government*."

— *Middle American News*



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PUBLISHER
John H. Tanton
Petoskey, Michigan

EDITOR
Wayne Lutton
Petoskey, Michigan

MANAGING EDITOR
Robert Kyser
Alanson, Michigan

WASHINGTON EDITOR
Roy Beck
Arlington, Virginia

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR
James Robb
Arlington, Virginia

Washington Office
1601 N. Kent St., #1100
Arlington, VA 22209
phone 703-816-8820
fax 703-816-8824

International Correspondents
Wolfgang Bosswick
Nürnberg, Germany

Denis McCormack
North Fitzroy, Victoria
Australia

Editorial Advisory Board
Sharon Barnes
Brooklyn, New York

Viktor Foerster
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David Simcox
Louisville, Kentucky

Dan Stein
Washington, D.C

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A Note from the Editor

As the United States entered the New Year, several immigration-related events garnered headlines:

• Shortly before Christmas, 32-year-old Ahmed Ressam, was charged with smuggling bomb-making material into Washington State at a remote border crossing from British Columbia. Rassam is an Algerian who had been living in Montreal, Canada before his arrest. In an apparently unrelated case, another Algerian national, Bouadide Chamchi, 20, was arrested in Vermont after reportedly trying to enter the U.S. with a falsified passport. He was in the company of a Canadian woman, Lucia Garofalo, 35, who was charged with attempted alien smuggling.

• Montreal police compare their city to a "Club Med" for Algerian extremists, reporting that the city is being used as a base to plan and finance their activities. Last Fall police broke up an Algerian crime ring suspected of financing the activities of the Armed Islamic Group.

• The discovery of Chinese stowaways in containers on cargo ships in Long Beach, California, Seattle, Washington, and British Columbia, Canada, once again drew attention to the booming illegal alien smuggling trade. In South Florida, Cubans, Haitians, Dominicans, and others attempt to enter in a wide variety of craft, from rafts, to speedboats, and freighters. And the flood tide from Mexico continues; though Arizona now seems to be the preferred state of entry.

• The connection between Third World immigration and the reintroduction to the U.S. and other Western countries of tuberculosis and other dangerous diseases was disclosed by reporter Susan Sachs, in a page-one article, "More Screening of Immigrants for TB Sought," (*The New York Times,* January 3, 2000). TB is endemic in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, areas from which most of our immigrants originate. According to the *New York Times* report, the immigrant groups with the highest number of TB cases are Mexicans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Indians, Chinese, Haitians, and Koreans. Government health authorities are calling for expensive "outreach" programs to new "immigrant communities." Needless to say, the *Times* did not call for a reconsideration of the very policy of permitting non-Western immigration, nor explain to Americans just what they stand to benefit from its continuance.

In this issue we include testimony and reportage on crime and security issues. In a time of increased drug smuggling, terrorist threats, and illegal immigration, our northern border with Canada is virtually undefended. Once they enter the U.S. across any of our borders, or through airports or seaports, malefactors are in little danger of being detected or removed. The INS Investigations Division, responsible for interior enforcement, has only 2,000 investigators to cover all of the 50 states. Until greater numbers of voters understand the dimensions of our security needs, it will not be possible to force Congress to mandate real changes in policy.

* * * * *

To keep our readers abreast of cyberspace developments, we have some new and updated internet websites listed on the Bulletin Board (see inside this issue's back cover). Among these are: <www.vdare.com> where Peter Brimelow, Scott McConnell and others post commentary and news about immigration and other issues of interest; <www.ecofuture.org> is a new site that may be the most comprehensive population resource on the internet; <www.antiwar.com> is a project of the Center for Libertarian Studies. Updated daily, this site features news and commentary on ethnic, religious, economic, and political conflicts around the world, with links to foreign news sources.

Let us know if you have discovered any links that we should share with others.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D.
Editor

Cover Photo © AP/Wide World Photos
Canadian Coast Guard officers in zodiac boat keep a close watch on a shipload of illegal Chinese immigrants in Nootka Sound near Tahsis, British Columbia on Canada's Vancouver Island.

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Letter to the Editor

EDITOR:

While expressing my appreciation of David Simcox' generally favourable review of my new book, *Human Population Competition*, and of the journal for commissioning it, I hope I may be granted a little space to correct a factual error and offer a couple of counter-balancing opinions. In any review of a very large book (in this case 800 pp.), crammed with facts, it is easy to misread or misremember bits of it and Mr. Simcox has mistakenly attributed my description of the highly effective Australian Aboriginal surgical population control, subincision, to another desert people, the Kalahari Bushmen. The original Australians don't get much credit for their achievements these days and they deserve full credit for this.

The reviewer gently takes me to task for including the U.S. "removal" (his term) of millions of illegal settlers from the U.S. within my general category of population "expulsions." In the latter I include a wide range of examples from many parts of the world — including extradition for alleged crimes. Of course these U.S. removals are very different from, say, the Serbian "cleansing" of Kosovars, but for me both qualify as non-voluntary movements out of one country or region into another, i.e. expulsions.

In another section he correctly notes that I argue that the flow of births is a result of "a shifting balance between ... human drives shaped by a host of different influences" (his words), only to accuse me — again mildly — of adopting a "reductionist approach." I must confess that I find these two allegations, cheek by jowl, rather hard to reconcile.

Linked to this is the rather weightier criticism that while making "a good theoretical case for competitive breeding," I "offer little empirical data establishing the fact or the importance of the competitive drive in birth decisions in different societies." He does qualify this by asking "Does such data even exist?" and I have to agree that I was not able to produce a "full causal chain" such as a lawyer or judge may demand.

However, I do feel that in this case the criticism is rather unbalanced on two counts. The first is that the book is already huge, leaving little or no chance of pursuing this quest, and the second is that I do in fact provide a very great deal of evidence at both micro and macro levels, linking clear rationales and statements of belief in and of policy on numbers and power, accompanied by higher birth and growth rates. These include Welsh Nationalists in my own adopted country, the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo, the Jews v. the Arabs/Palestinians of Israel and region, Muslims in many regions, and many others. Perhaps the most dramatic of these is provided by Iran after the Revolution, where the whole voluntary birth control movement was systematically demolished and the country set on a course for population disaster until the light dawned and the whole policy was dramatically reversed. (A "double volte-face," I call it).

To give credit where it is due I think I should make it clear that the terms *homo contracipiens* and *homo progenitivus*, which Simcox seems to attribute to me, stem from that seminal but much-neglected work, *The Next Million Years* (1973), by C.G. Darwin (Charles's grandson).

Of course, as Simcox strongly implies, there is a need for a great deal more work on these pressing problems. In fact the main objects of my book are to stimulate further research and to open up public debate on this profoundly important but hitherto taboo subject within the context of the pressing ecological constraints within which human societies must exist. I very much hope that both book and reviews will jog consciences and aid in this process.

Sincerely yours.

JACK PARSONS

South Wales, UK

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Remembering Richard Estrada

A champion of those hurt by mass immigration

by Gerda Bikales

Too soon, all too soon, America lost one of its wise and courageous men. Richard Estrada was felled unexpectedly by a liver ailment, last October 29. He was 49.

Most people knew Richard Estrada as a gifted journalist, whose tightly written columns appeared in newspapers across the country. From his perch as associate editor of the *Dallas Morning News'* editorial page, he sometimes wrote lighthearted and playful pieces, turning to the world of entertainment and sports to make a point. But he was by inclination a serious man, who often wrote about the plight of the mentally ill, the degradation of the environment, the plague of drug and alcohol abuse. He devoted many columns to those topics, and won an award in 1998 for his writings on mental health from the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill.

But a workable immigration policy, one in the service of the American nation, was his most enduring interest. He was himself the grandson of Mexican immigrants, and he remained emotionally close to his Mexican roots even as he acquired a strong, unshakable American identity. The Spanish he picked up as a child in his home he perfected through formal study of the language, and he became a lifelong student of Latin American culture and history. Born in New Mexico, educated in Texas, he saw himself as "a child of the border." He understood the special problems and responded to the unique charms of that region, where Mexico is a palpable presence. In the early eighties he had accepted an opportunity to live and work in the nation's capital, but he eventually chose to return to the Southwest, to be near his ailing parents and to stay immersed in the border experience.

Richard Estrada was a staunch restrictionist on immigration. Politically, he was a man of the left whose instinctive sympathies were for the poor and exploited. He frankly admired the ideals of the revolutionaries in Nicaragua and in El Salvador (though perhaps not their governance) and disagreed with America's foreign policy in Central America in the eighties. He understood the conditions that drove illegal entrants by the tens of thousands to cross the border into the united States in search of a better life, and he did not fault them. But he was highly critical of American immigration policy-makers who turned a blind eye to this worsening problem, refusing to enforce our laws and deliberately ignoring the evidence that such massive numbers of immigrants were holding back the economic advancement of America's minorities, including Hispanics already here. He was equally concerned about the cultural consequences of this explosive immigration. He viewed the growth of the bilingual education industry as disastrous for the future of the newcomers' children, a disincentive to

***Gerda Bikales** is a member of the advisory board of The Social Contract. Formerly the first executive director of U.S.English she is currently a member of the board of directors of English Language Advocates (ELA). She writes from her home in McLean, Virginia..*

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their mastery of the English language and an obstacle in the development of their American identity.

In his skillful prose, Estrada argued for immigration reforms suited to the changed realities of our time. He never hesitated to publicly express his views, at every opportunity, in person and in writing.

To do so was not without personal risk for a man with a Spanish surname and the classic appearance of a *camposino*. His forthright arguments for controlled immigration earned him the enmity of the Latino spokesmen whose unlimited-immigration advocacy he challenged and whose self-appointed leadership claims he exposed. These individuals felt threatened by Estrada's authenticity and his passion for truth-telling. Not long after assuming his position at the *Dallas Morning News*, his dismayed opponents made a concerted effort to get the newspaper to dismiss or quiet the columnist, threatening a boycott of the paper and its advertisers. Estrada firmly stood by his convictions, no matter what the consequences. It is a tribute to his employers that they too failed to be intimidated by such threats.

"his dismayed opponents made a concerted effort to get the newspaper to dismiss or quiet the columnist, threatening a boycott of the paper and its advertisers. Estrada firmly stood by his convictions..."

His profound knowledge of the immigration issue in all its complexity earned him a Congressional appointment to the bipartisan U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, headed by the late Barbara Jordan, a former Congresswoman from Texas. Estrada did not take his service on the Commission casually — he was not one to skip contentious meetings or to let voluminous paperwork go unread. Possibly the best writer on the Commission, he had much to contribute to its search for consensus language and verbal precision.

At a memorial service held in Washington three weeks after his death, Richard Estrada was fondly remembered by friends, family and colleagues in the capital city. Frequent mention was made of his towering intellect, prodigious knowledge of matters practical and abstruse, and of his insightful writing. But he was also remembered as a kind and witty person, a devoted friend, a loving son and brother. Congressman Lamar S. Smith(R-TX) praised the credibility Estrada brought to this issue, making it easier for others to speak out. He warmly spoke of the man he knew as both humble and strong. Congressman Sylvester Reyes(D-TX) recalled the writer's exceptional care in getting the facts straight, checking and double-checking his sources. Though he often disagreed with Estrada, Mr. Reyes feels that the journalist was truly a "*hermano*" — a brother within America's Hispanic community. Fellow Commission member Michael Teitelbaum called Estrada a very constructive participant in the panel's work, whose elegant and clear rewriting of the archaic unintelligible "Oath of Allegiance" to the United States — the recitation of which is the high point of the naturalization process — should be adopted as a tribute to Richard Estrada.. To Patrick Burns, his close friend, Richard was, above all, a man of fierce morality. Burns commented on Richard's usual calm temperament, which he saw change to anger only once. He described the memorable moment: a fellow journalist of considerable Beltway renown once approached Richard to ask him what a Mexican like himself thought about an issue under discussion. Richard angrily pounced on his interlocutor, poked him with his finger in the chest and reminded him "I'm an American, and don't you forget it!"

By way of comforting the audience at the memorial, one speaker suggested that Richard Estrada, freed from the cares of the working journalist and the burdens of living, is probably happily engaged in animated debate with the great thinkers he had studied and admired, the likes of St. Augustine, Kant and Jefferson. Maybe.

But we who must carry on the immigration debate here on earth will find the task harder without him.

TSC

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Richard Estrada: Philosopher, Gadfly, Friend

by David Simcox

Richard and I shared a special bond through suffering. We were partners in the creation of the Center for Immigration Studies. It was an inauspicious time. The new Center had no clout, no computers, no staff but us, no money, and dim prospects of getting any. When Richard was highly recommended to me by those I respect I had to wonder why a rising scholar of such repute would cast his lot with such an unproven institution.

Richard was easily the most hireable candidate for the job because some grant money came with him to help pay his no-frills salary. We worked together in a borrowed two-room suite that may have had in total 250 square feet of floor space, using boxes of books as typewriter stands. He never complained about these conditions. He suggested that the very austerities of our surroundings were in keeping with the self-sacrificing, bridge-burning, un-chic cause of immigration reform.

I realized early that I had a person with a remarkably inquiring mind, voracity of scholarship, and a poetic feel for the English language. It was clear that Richard would quickly outgrow the then-struggling Center. His future held much more than sifting INS and Census data to analyze the liabilities of mass immigration. If what I had wanted was a bean-counting quantitative sociologist on my staff, Richard clearly had a more expansive vision.

Even so, he was a tireless researcher. But he was much better as a visionary of the nation's absurdities and contradictions, an exposer of pretense, and a master packager and presenter of complex issues in simple terms. To me, he had a prophetic style in exposing unhealthy trends in American societies and the ills that would ensue from them if not corrected. When Richard wrote and talked he made me and others want to listen. His spirit, demeanor and language were compelling, as a prophet's must be.

The immigration reform movement has lost a stalwart champion in the untimely death of Richard Estrada, syndicated columnist with the Dallas Morning News, member of the Jordan Commission.

Despite his brilliance there was not a milligram of intellectual arrogance in the man. We spent hours talking about our shared interests: Mexican history, the politics of the Southwest, the *Via Crucis* of Hispanics in the labor market and the schools, the spreading inequality, and the inherent greed of free market societies. Most often I became the pupil in these *tertulias*, playing the inquiring student to the Socratic Richard.

Richard was painfully exacting about his writing. He appreciated how even one phrase, one characterization imprecisely expressed, could reshape the tone and direction of an entire column or article. Richard mentioned more than once his tug of war with his editors in Dallas over his preference for the more precise term "asylum seeker" over the briefer, and more emotionally seductive but conclusory term "refugee."

When Richard was at the Dallas Morning News, he used to call me occasionally (and I suspect many of his other former coworkers) to ask for our unsparing critical reactions to a draft column. His inherent fastidiousness seemed to compel him to make one

David Simcox *is chairman of the Policy Board of the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies, which he served as its first executive director. He currently resides in Louisville, Kentucky, where he has a think tank, Migration Demographics.*

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final search for that verbal misstep, that fatal nuance that he feared could lurk there. I'll have to admit that I was flattered. My suggestions at times involved ways of making the column in question more supportive of immigration reform. But Richard was in search, first of all, of injustice, pretense and double-standards. He believed deeply in immigration reform, but his journalistic ethic forbade him from making his column into an exclusive platform for any cause, regardless of its merit.

At the same time, I know from his comments that his journalistic honesty about immigration and about the ambitions of Hispanic leaders came at a high cost in the form of angry pressures from ethnic spokesmen, readers and subscribers, and his own editors to soften his message or avoid the subject all together. He spoke of pickets, letter-writing campaigns, threatened boycotts, and the visits of protesting delegations of Hispanics to executives of the Morning News seeking to have him curbed or dropped. It could not have been an easy situation for the paper, but to its credit it retained Richard, let him write, and allowed him a four-year period of frequent absences to Washington to serve on the Jordan Commission.

I never sensed that Richard Estrada was intimidated by the protesters or particularly fearful about retribution from management. I think he serenely accepted those things as the price of being a truly independent thinker and voice. He never traded on his minority status and had little patience with those who did. It would have been easy and understandable for him to become a journalistic cheerleader for minority exceptionalism. But he didn't. He had a quiet, understated sense of humor about professional Hispanics. Once, before we traveled together to a meeting in the Bahamas, I told him INS pre-clearance at Nassau Airport would ask us to prove if we were American citizens. He said that was fine for me, but his job was to show the "required indignation" at such a question.

He rarely shrank from examining the politically incorrect. At the time when national guilt over the treatment of Japanese and Japanese-Americans was ascendant, ultimately yielding a law to indemnify them, Richard, ever the dialectical thinker, was inquiring why Italian and German aliens in the U.S., who often suffered comparable treatment, got neither recognition nor compensation, and making readers aware of critical distinctions between the rights and immunities of aliens and citizens under national and international law in war time.

Richard depended on clear expression and sound reasoning to win the day. He was not a shouter. I recall he reluctantly accepted to appear on the Morton Downey show, one of those talk shows in the 1980s that judged its success by how much snarling rage and insults could be induced among the participants. Richard said his piece calmly, then sat serenely for the rest of the show, leaving pandemonium to others.

One painful loss attending Richard's early death is that his perceptions of the workings of the Jordan commission and his own role in it will go undocumented. I know he felt the frustrations of trying to work one's will in a deliberative group containing such radically opposed interests — trying to build, by committee, a rational immigration policy out of oil and water. But the ultimate recommendations of the commission for reducing legal immigration and the commission's attention to the plight of low-skilled U.S. workers, particularly established Hispanic immigrants, satisfied me that Richard had been persistent and persuasive. The ever serene and stoical Richard to my knowledge never registered anger or surprise that Congress and the Executive subsequently shelved those recommendations. He deplored but accepted as a given the ignoble side of American political behavior.

Richard's last column comparing the establishment's disparate treatment of Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson for their reputed anti-Semitism could not be more exemplary of his life as a scribe: his fascination with the contradictions and hypocrisy of politics; his boldness in engaging no-win topics that other journalists might duck; and the sensitivity, objectivity and clarity of presentation that through it all bespoke a total absence of malice.

Richard will be missed by immigration reformers, by true defenders of minorities' interests, and by allies of America's underdogs.

I will miss him as a friend. TSC

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Drug Smuggling, Illegal Immigration, Terrorism

Statement by Rep. Lamar Smith

[*Lamar Smith (R-TX) gave this statement on April 14, 1999 to begin hearings on the issues of drug smuggling, illegal immigration and terrorism as they impact the northern border of the United States. He chairs the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims of the House Judiciary Committee.*]

In recent years, there have been an increasing number of reports highlighting the lack of federal resources on the Northern Border and the resulting threat to U.S. national security and community safety.

Three threats need to be addressed — drug smuggling, illegal immigration, and terrorism. All these threats are exacerbated by the lack of resources on the Northern Border. The Border Patrol currently has only 289 agents along the 3,500 mile Northern Border.

It is obvious that if we don't know who comes into our country, we don't know what comes into our country, like illegal drugs. A porous border is open invitation for illegal drug smugglers and for terrorists and their goal of mass destruction.

Drug smuggling at the Northern Border is a significant concern. Numerous articles have documented the alarming rise in the smuggling of a type of highly potent marijuana, grown indoors in British Columbia. This marijuana is five times as potent as regular marijuana and is more likely to increase drug addiction.

A 1998 report from the National Drug Intelligence Center "warned that marijuana exports from Canada to the U.S. are becoming 'a significant problem.'" Also disturbing to Americans and Canadians is that U.S.-Canada drug enforcement officials have reported that drug smugglers in the U.S. are exchanging British Columbia marijuana pound-for-pound for cocaine, which "has begun fueling a fledgling crack cocaine trade north of the border."

U.S. officials believe that the vast majority of drug smugglers make their way into the United States without detection:

"If we're getting 1 to 2 percent at the border, we're being lucky," said Tom Kelly, who worked as resident agent in charge of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency at Blaine (Washington) until earlier this month. Gene Kerven, port director for U.S. Customs, puts it at less than 5 percent.

> It may surprise many people to learn that Mexican nationals can enter Canada without visas. So it is cheaper for them to fly to Canada and walk across the northern border than to have smugglers bring them across the southern border — and less dangerous.

There have been reports of drug smuggling at other points along the Northern Border as well. On June 8, 1998, United Press International reported that a joint investigation between U.S. and Canadian law enforcement officials culminated in the arrest of 18 individuals (14 Canadians and 4 Americans) and the seizure of $ 3.7 million worth of drugs.

What about illegal immigration? In Fiscal Year 1998, less than 300 agents apprehended 12,146 aliens attempting illegal entry. The question is, how many did they miss?

So few agents cannot monitor a border thousands of miles long 24 hours every day. The Border Patrol knows that the drug and alien smugglers monitor their shifts and simply wait until they go off duty.

The crackdown on illegal drugs and immigration along our Southern Border has caused illegal aliens to

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Immigrant Smuggling Draws New Attention

LOS ANGELES, January 3, 2000

Federal officials today were investigating what was seen as a disturbing trend in smuggling illegal immigrants after the discovery of 30 stowaways on Sunday in containers on cargo ships in Long Beach, CA, and Seattle.

The discoveries were made less than a week after two other groups of illegal Chinese immigrants were found in similar containers on cargo ships in the Los Angeles area.

In addition, according to court documents in Seattle, two more containers with Chinese citizens were expected to arrive there Tuesday.

"This is a relatively new and troubling trend," said Virginia C. Kice, a spokeswoman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In the recent cases, soft-top containers about the size of a tractor trailer were used to carry Chinese stowaways who paid as much as $70,000, more than twice the amount charged by people operating ships devoted primarily to smuggling, Ms. Kice said.

A cargo ship can carry as many as 1,000 of these containers, which can make it difficult to detect stowaways. The smugglers often lash down the heavy canvas covers on the containers using every other grommet to make escape easier and provide ventilation.

Ms. Kice said identifying the organizers of the container-smuggling operations was more difficult because the stowaways were not necessarily accompanied, as had been the practice on previous smuggling ships.

On Dec. 29, the authorities detained 21 people at the Port of Long Beach and 9 at Los Angeles Harbor as they emerged from hiding in cargo containers.

On Sunday, crew members found 18 stowaways inside a cargo container on the *Zem Shekou* as it was coming into the Port of Long Beach. The ship had apparently left Hong Kong about three weeks before and stopped over in British Columbia.

In Seattle, 12 men were found aboard the ship *OOCL Faith*, which is owned by the Orient Overseas Container Line of Hong Kong.

Officials said all those detained in the last week remained in custody and were being interviewed. The process is complicated because there are so many dialects that it can be difficult to find interpreters.

— Barbara Whitaker for the NY Times

enter from the North. A former Acting Associate Commissioner for Enforcement stated that "as Southwest border enforcement continues to stiffen and the price charged for smuggling escalates, many chose the alternative of illegally entering the U.S. from Canada." Drug and illegal alien smugglers and terrorists are going to enter at the least secure point of entry.

It may surprise many people to learn that Mexican nationals can enter Canada without visas. So it is cheaper for them to fly to Canada and walk across the Northern Border than to have smugglers bring them across the Southern Border.

The number of Asian nationals being smuggled into the U.S. also is increasing. Regarding third country nationals, Canadians themselves make up the fourth largest group of illegal aliens in the U.S.

One of the most dangerous threats to our national security is the risk of a terrorist crossing our Northern Border undetected. This happened in 1997 when Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer crossed the Northern Border and attempted to blow up the New York subway system.

In this case, the terrorist was caught before the crime was carried out. Next time, we may not be so fortunate. Since 1995, there have been at least thirteen other cases of terrorists crossing the border from Canada, two in Blaine, Washington, alone.

In 1998, the Director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) acknowledged the presence of 50 terrorist organizations in Canada and outlined their activities: fund-raising in aid of terrorism; smuggling; providing logistical support for terrorist acts and providing transit to and from the United States, "one of the world's pre-eminent terrorist targets."

Drug smugglers, terrorists and illegal aliens travel both ways across the border. Canadians as well as Americans will benefit from better border security. The United States and Canada already have engaged in cooperative efforts to combat alien smuggling and to share intelligence information regarding drug smugglers and terrorists.

Both countries have much to gain by supporting joint and individual efforts to reduce the threats to both Americans and Canadians. TSC

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Detention Crisis at INS

There is an increasing backlog of persons who are in legal limbo

by Dan Stein

[*As executive director of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Dan Stein gave this testimony before the Immigration and Claims Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.*]

This statement is intended to address preparations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the possible release of detained criminal aliens, and the manner in which the INS has enforced new provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Release of Criminal Aliens and Illegal Entrants

The INS has acknowledged that it has developed plans for the release of deportable aliens, invoking a shortage of detention space as the justification. This action, should it occur, will violate INA section 236 (c), a new section that mandates the continued detention of criminal aliens until final deportation. The INS would be releasing aliens convicted of crimes of moral turpitude and aggravated felonies, including narcotics trafficking, espionage or terrorism, back onto our streets, where they could commit additional crimes and very likely will disappear, perhaps permanently.

Detention is the fulcrum on which all aspects of immigration policy enforcement depend. If the INS is forced by lack of detention space to release or not take into custody deportable aliens — or others in the country illegally who are being allowed to depart voluntarily — the immigration laws will become even more ignored than they are today. We must remember that those laws are designed to protect the American people from unwelcome gate-crashers and guests who seriously violate the nation's hospitality.

The current detention situation is an indication that the efforts of the INS to portray itself as being on top of the criminal alien problem — with record numbers of deportations — are misleading. Mr. Chairman, the number of criminal aliens in detention is increasing — not decreasing. The number of criminal aliens in detention in federal and state prisons rose by nearly 15 percent over the past fiscal year and by about 60 percent (to more than 125,000) since the beginning of fiscal year 1994. Neither the judicial process, nor the detention space available, have been able to keep pace with this disturbing trend.

The INS claims that it currently has only about 14,000 detention beds and a deportable population of nearly 16,000. It seems reasonable to ask what happened to the 20,000 detention beds that were projected to be available in fiscal year 1999 in the "Final Detention Plan: Fiscal years 1997-2001" that was submitted to Congress in May, 1997. Congress foresaw that the new detention criteria it adopted in 1996 could create detention problems and responsibly wrote transition policies into the law to deal with the need for new resources. The INS had over two years to plan for the new provisions. The May, 1997 Detention Plan charted a course for meeting the new detention space requirements. But the INS has failed to meet its own plan.

It seems clear that the bed deficit is the result of deliberately adopted policies. That is the only way to explain the fact that available beds operated and contracted for by INS are not keeping up with the growing need. Rather than the projected 20,000 planned-for detention beds, the INS puts the funded level of beds at 14,000 (down from 15,000 in fiscal year 1998) and is in the process of making further cuts that will reduce the detention space to 13,500 beds. Contrary to efforts of the INS to characterize the bed shortage as due to events outside of its control, it should be recognized that the situation is entirely a product of the INS decision-making process.

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According to an account in the *San Diego Union-Tribune* on February 7, 1999, the funding for one of the planned new INS detention facilities in San Francisco was shelved last June when the INS decided to divert the $30 million set aside for its construction to its program to speed up citizenship processing operations. Although the San Francisco facility would not yet be open if construction plans had gone ahead, the re-allocation of funds demonstrates how INS has had the power to shape the current situation. The bulk of the increased detention facilities that were planned to be available to meet the current demand were to be leased from state and local agencies. Although current funding for detention space may be suffering from increased costs and decreased receipts, it also seems clear that the INS has failed to make the necessary budget decisions to meet its legal obligations.

"Another of the categories of aliens clogging up the INS detention and deportation system is the Cuban Mariel excludable aliens."

But, even if the shortage of beds were not the result of deliberate INS decisions resulting from its failure to increase its own facilities at its Service Processing Centers as planned, and to increase its leased space with state and local governments as projected, it still has other remedies besides the release of deportable criminal aliens onto the streets.

Part of the INS detention problem arises from an Executive Branch decision to suspend the deportation of Central Americans following the devastation of Hurricane Mitch. Apparently, the INS now has in the neighborhood of 1,500 of these deportable aliens on its hands. While we are sympathetic with the people of Central America for their loss of lives and property, we believe there are more appropriate ways to show our solidarity with our neighbors in their reconstruction effort than to indefinitely house their nationals who should be deported under our law. Extending temporary protection for criminals is far beyond any neighborly courtesy that might be expected in the hurricane's aftermath. If the alternative is to release these detainees back onto our streets, it is obvious that the preferable policy would be to resume deporting back to their home country. Some have requested to be sent home to be able to help their families in the recovery effort but are being held against their will.

Another of the categories of aliens clogging up the INS detention and deportation system is the Cuban Mariel excludable aliens. The 800-900 Cuban criminals who were pushed into the United States by Fidel Castro in 1980 (as part of the Mariel Boatlift), have been in detention ever since, and clearly should be returned to Cuba. The problem has been that Castro has refused to take them, notwithstanding a formal immigration agreement between the Castro regime and the Clinton Administration. How is it that the Clinton Administration agreed to give Castro a guaranteed annual allotment of 20,000 immigration visas for Cubans without obtaining in exchange at least the accepted return of those 800-900 Cuban excludable aliens? Congress should consider freezing these visas until the Administration negotiates some relief for American taxpayers who have been burdened with Castro's criminals for nearly 20 years. Section 243(d) was added to the Immigration and Naturalization Act precisely for this purpose.

Those two policy responses alone — removal of deportable Central Americans and the return of excludable Cubans to Cuba — would be sufficient by themselves to eliminate the detention bed shortage problem.

There are also other corrective measures that would allow the INS to solve its so-called detention crisis without the need to release criminal aliens back on the streets. That conclusion may be drawn from the findings of the General Accounting Office (GAO) in its October 1998 report on "Criminal Aliens." The report charged that INS' efforts to remove imprisoned aliens continued to need improvement. The GAO found that approximately 250 beds per year were unnecessarily occupied by deportable aliens because the INS had not completed the administrative details necessary to accomplish deportation following the alien's release from prison. This inefficiency, which was estimated to have cost INS more than $40 million

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in fiscal year 1997, is inexcusable. How difficult can it be to process the paperwork on people who are already in prison so that they can be deported immediately upon completion of their sentences?

As noted above, the INS does not house all of its detainees in its own facilities. It also rents space from other law enforcement jurisdictions. That is largely a factor of funding. There can be no doubt that the INS has been provided with unprecedented increases to its budget in recent years. As an example, the INS resources for detention and deportation grew from $193 million in fiscal year 1993 to $729 million in the current fiscal year — more than a three-and-a-half-fold increase. The fact that the INS has failed to increase its own facilities at its Service Processing Centers, as planned, and to increase its leased space with state and local governments as projected, is not due to a lack of funds but rather a failure to allocate those funds prudently and in accordance with the requirements of law. Thus the issue must be understood as an INS funds management crisis, not one due to the unavailability of resources. Rather than being a detention bed space shortage, as portrayed by the INS, the crisis is a self-inflicted one by the INS. Whether it has been made deliberately or inadvertently, the result suggests malfeasance.

Rather than accept responsibility for this situation, the INS appears to find it more convenient to ask Congress for still more money and to propose the release of some deportable aliens. It is an attempt to lay responsibility for its own mismanagement on the doorstep of Congress. It also appears to be a policy that is responsive to the financial interests of immigration attorneys and immigrant-rights advocates who are committed to fighting the tougher deportation laws adopted in 1996 in the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act.

Immigration lawyers are currently trying to slow the removal process as they battle to maintain their ability to fend off deportation for their clients. This argument is a blatant attempt to hold the American judicial process responsible for something that was caused by the individual criminal acts of immigrants, who violated the conditions of their admission to this country. The American public is compassionate and accepts the release of convicts who appear to be rehabilitated — albeit with reservations. But for American citizens the only alternative is permanent incarceration. The situation is entirely different for aliens who commit similar crimes. If they have not come here legally, they have not gained any right to be treated as if they were invited to join our society. And those immigrants who have come legally, but have not become U.S. citizens, remain guests in our society whose behavior will not be tolerated if they fail to respect our laws. Being an immigrant to the United States is not a right. It is a privilege. A condition of that privilege is to obey our laws. Deportation has long been accepted as appropriate and just for criminal aliens.

"Rather than accept responsibility for this situation, the INS appears to find it more convenient to ask Congress for still more money and to propose the release of some deportable aliens."

In some cases there may be family members also living here. Should that stand in the way of deportation? While all situations are different, the fact is that most immigrants have only arrived in the past fifteen years; many of those who commit crimes are not long-term residents of 15 to 20 years or more. Past experience reflects that the waiver opportunities provided by Congress have been abused and become the rule rather than the exception. And to make a family member in the U.S. the sole criterion for the deportation waiver would lead to the absurd conclusion that we also must spare innumerable criminals from prison on the basis that they too have families. Unfortunately, innocent family members often end up paying a penalty for the actions of their kin who threaten the public safety. Deported criminal aliens retain full rights as citizens of their country of origin and may lead productive lives there. In most cases, their spouses and minor, unmarried children

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may join them there.

Mr. Chairman, the INS preparation for the release of criminal aliens is not an isolated example of policies being pursued by that agency that are incomprehensible to the American public. As you well know, INS operations are rife with serious problems.

"Increasingly local law enforcement organizations which contact the INS in connection with detention of illegal aliens are told by INS that it does not have the resources to take custody of the aliens and that they should be released."

The INS most recently has admitted to an increasing backlog of persons in legal limbo in the United States. This results from the fact that the INS is not able to keep up with applications for adjustment of status from aliens already here who are seeking green cards.

There are more applicants for naturalization than the INS can handle, and backlogs have grown. In some offices, waiting lists extend for more than two years after the immigrant has fulfilled the residency requirement to apply for citizenship. To try to speed up the process and qualify as many immigrants as possible to vote in the last presidential election, slipshod policies were adopted that led to the Citizenship USA scandal of thousands of aliens being naturalized despite criminal records that made them ineligible.

The INS similarly can't cope with the surging wave of illegal aliens. As a result, while the illegal alien population grows by an estimated 275,000 each year, the INS does less to deter new illegal aliens and has opted instead to try to "manage" illegal immigration by implementing a strategy called the Phoenix Plan. This new operational strategy eliminates efforts to remove illegal aliens working here illegally.

Increasingly local law enforcement organizations which contact the INS in connection with detention of illegal aliens are told by INS that it does not have the resources to take custody of the aliens and that they should be released. Individuals who contact the INS with information about the activities of possible illegal aliens in local communities are told that individual cases do not have a high enough priority to justify action. The INS is abrogating its responsibility to protect the society from a wave of illegal immigrants.

It is reasonable to conclude, Mr. Chairman, that the above INS failures — in addition to the failure to manage detention of criminal aliens properly — point to repeated and gross INS incompetence that justifies a demand for new management. The agency management's schizophrenic focus on improving "customer service" has lost sight of the fact that its real customers are the American people, and any immigration program must have as its primary beneficiary the general public.

Nevertheless, we are not sanguine that a change in the INS leadership by itself would correct the problems.

Reducing the immigration flow and relieving pressure on the agency

FAIR also sees this sorry record of INS failures as demonstrating clearly that immigration is out of control, and that something must be done to reduce the pressures on our society and on the agency. There are simply too many people pushing at the borders, crashing the borders and demanding immigration benefits at the same time. And international demographic pressures are only likely to worsen in the next ten years. It is unlikely that a new INS management could solve all of the agencies myriad problems until the unprecedented number of arriving immigrants — both legal and illegal — is reduced to a more manageable level.

As many members of this committee know, FAIR has argued that the cumulative stress on many of our nation's vital institutions is due to prolonged large-scale immigration and necessitates an immigration "time-out." We note that H.R.41, Congressman Bob Stump's *Mass Immigration Reduction Act,* has 49 co-sponsors and merits serious consideration by this

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Balkan Gangs Push Mafia Aside

The end of the Balkan war has brought a wave of criminal gangs into southern Italy, many of which are proving so violent and well-armed that the mafia has forged alliances with them rather than try to resist the onslaught. Police have been stunned by the savagery and professionalism of recent heists in which gangs used Kalashnikovs, explosives and motorized battering rams to kill escorts in armored cars. In the past robbers tended to shoot only if pursued or fired at first.

Albanians and mercenaries from Serbia, Montenegro and other parts of the former Yugoslavia are blamed for the attacks, which are linked to the growing trade across the Adriatic in contraband cigarettes, drugs and illegal immigrants.

Two ambushes on remote roads in the heel of Italy last week brought a wave of public shock of the kind not seen since the Red Brigade terrorists were active.

In the first attack last Monday, 10 masked men, some with Balkan accents, rammed and cornered two trucks driven by private security guards near the town of Lecce. Explosives blasted open the doors and machinegun fire raked the guards, killing three and wounding five. The gang escaped with £700,000.

In a second attack on the same day guards were said to have had a miraculous escape when a different gang intercepted a delivery of pensions.

"The abundance of arms, vehicles and determination is striking," said Alessandro Stasi, a chief appeals prosecutor.

Evidence that foreign and Italian gangs were collaborating emerged last May when a group attacked an armored truck in Milan with explosives and fired more than 350 rounds, killing one guard. Several men from the Balkans were later arrested.

According to Professor Ernesto Savona, the director of Transcrime, an Italian research institute which studies international crime, Albanian gangs now control the smuggling of illegal immigrants.

A pact is believed to have been made in which the Italian gangs retained control over trade in cigarettes and arms, while the new arrivals took over prostitution rackets, and the smuggling of drugs and illegal immigrants.

Last week an Italian judge ordered Branko Perovic, the foreign minister of Montenegro since 1998, and 26 other people to stand trial on smuggling and criminal association charges. The charges against him relate to the period when he worked for the Rome office of the Yugoslav Airlines, JAT.

— Rory Carroll in Rome, 12/14/99

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committee.

The idea of a timeout to allow institutions to catch up with reality is now being buttressed by arguments coming from the Clinton Administration. In its proposed FY 2000 budget, the Administration wants to slow the hiring of new immigration agents, because they are entering the system faster than INS can train them. If the Administration acknowledges that its capacity to train immigration agents has been overwhelmed by sheer numbers, and that a pause is necessary, it is logical to conclude that the system can be overwhelmed by the sheer number of immigrants who enter. In fact, I would suggest that the very reason we are sitting here today is because the system is overwhelmed by more legal and illegal immigrants entering the country than our law enforcement and social institutions can possibly manage.

If a "time-out" on hiring new immigration personnel is an idea the Administration is proposing and Congress is considering, why isn't a "time-out" on admitting immigrants worthy of serious consideration as well?

Other Areas of Concern

Legislative action will be necessary if we are to achieve a more manageable immigration environment. Efforts better to control the border are not enough by themselves — they need to be supported by effective deterrence at the worksite. Employers must be able to verify who is and who is not in a legal work status. The current test program for worker verification offers the means to achieve that objective, and it should be promptly implemented nationwide. We need to end the amnesties and grants of temporary protected status (TPS) that legitimate illegal entry and encourage others to follow. That means Congress must demonstrate the resolve to repatriate TPS beneficiaries when conditions in the homeland improve, rather than turn TPS grants into permanent amnesty programs.

Mr. Chairman, we salute your leadership and appreciate the difficult task of pleasing all the contending parties that are organized to try to weaken the role of the INS and its enforcement mission. We stand ready to assist in whatever way we can to try to improve the performance of the INS in fulfilling its essential duties to the American people. TSC

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Russian Mafia Link to U.S. Campaign Funds

by Thomas Catán

Russian emigrés living in the U.S. and believed by authorities to have links with organized crime have made campaign contributions to leading U.S. candidates and political parties in what appears to be an effort to win political influence.

Through family members and businesses, Seroyon (Sam) Kislin — identified in a 1994 internal report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a member of a Russian crime syndicate — contributed $46,250 to the political campaign of New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican, in 1993 and 1997, election records show.

The commodities trader also donated $8,000 to New York Senator Charles Schumer, a Democrat, last year, and contributed to several other U.S. political figures. The allegations against him were first publicized by the Center for Public Integrity, the Washington-based non-profit group, earlier this week. Mr. Kislin has denied any links with organized crime.

Thomas Catán writes from New York for the Financial Times *of London. © 1999.*

It also emerged that Jacob Bogatin, an associate of Semyon Mogilevich, who is himself alleged by U.S. and UK intelligence authorities to be the head of a Russian crime syndicate, made donations to the National Republican Congressional Committee between 1996 and 1998.

Mr Mogilevich has denied the allegations against him.

Election records show Bogatin contributed at least $2,750 to the Republican campaign group — sometimes under the name of his company, YBM Maghex.

The Philadelphia-based magnet manufacturer, which was founded by Bogatin with Mogilevich, was raided and closed down by U.S. authorities in May 1998. YBM Magnex pleaded guilty to securities fraud and was fined $3m in November 1999.

These and other developments have prompted U.S. investigators to start looking closely at Russian assets and investments in the country, particularly in the New York area, according to people close to the investigations.

Though the political contributions traced so far are not large, they will fuel concerns that money from Russian organized crime could be finding its way into the political system.

"When I was in the Department of State, from time to time we would hear of people associated with organized crime reaching out to members of the [Capitol] Hill," said Jonathan Winer, who until recently served as deputy secretary of state. "The administration briefed Hill members on more than one occasion."

Winer noted that those briefed by the State Department came from both main political parties, and on all occasions dropped contact with the figures under suspicion.

In recent years, two Russian businessmen identified by U.S. authorities as having links to Russian organized crime have turned up at Democratic fund-raising events, despite being denied entry visas. Both have appeared in photographs with President Bill Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore.

Yesterday, the office of Senator Schumer said it had performed a background check on Kislin and found nothing on him. "If any of these allegations prove true, we will absolutely return the money," a spokesman said. Mayor Giuliani's office could not be reached for comment. TSC

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Give Us Your Terrorists

Canadian traveler learns the passport game

by Licia Corbella

In December of 1981, I found myself traveling through the North African country of Morocco. I was 18, and pretty naive at the time, but grew considerably wiser by the time my one-year traveling binge came to an end the following September.

During my travels, there were two things I treasured above all else and guarded with much diligence — my Canadian passport and my airline ticket home. Those two items went everywhere with me, in a special travel pouch under my clothes. I felt my Canadian passport was a rare and, therefore, valuable item — available to Canadian citizens only — and only those of good repute. No criminals or terrorists need apply. It was a couple of days before Christmas when that belief was turned on its ear.

Not wanting to spend Christmas in a Muslim country, I made my way north from Fez back to Tetouan, where I planned to catch the ferry back to Spain. In Tetouan, I met up again with a Japanese girl I had spent time with in Marrakesh, and she introduced me to two Dutch fellows she was chatting with in the teahouse.

Upon learning that I was a Canadian, one of the Dutch fellows informed me in his halting English that he, too, was Canadian. To prove it, he pulled out his Canadian passport.

"Oh," I said. "Where are you from?"

"Holland," he replied.

"Right, but where do you live," I asked.

"In Amsterdam."

"Oh," I said, perplexed, "how is it you have a Canadian passport?"

He told me a story that seemed so implausible to me at the time that, had I not inspected the legitimate Canadian passport, I would have called him a liar on the spot.

He said since he had a criminal record in Holland which caused him grief as he traveled around Europe, he decided to get himself the best open-sesame the world had at the time — a Canadian passport.

Several years earlier, this fellow spent some time traveling around Canada, working in various cities and eventually spending about three years in Toronto. He forged a birth or baptismal certificate with an alias name, applied for and received landed immigrant status in Canada under that alias, and then applied for and received a Canadian passport. Suddenly, that passport I was guarding with my very being didn't seem quite so valuable any more.

My guess is that most Canadians are coming to the same realization this week [late December 1999] as I did all those years ago in Morocco. Despite the feeble assurances of Prime Minister Jean Chretien to the contrary, most Canadians are rightly appalled by the circumstances surrounding two separate incidents at the Canada-U.S. border in which two suspected Algerian terrorists tried to enter the U.S. in recent days.

Despite the fact that Ahmed Ressam had been declared a terrorist in his native Algeria and despite the fact that he entered Canada in February 1994 with a false French passport, he was not arrested or detained.

When his refugee claim was denied and he was ordered deported, he simply disappeared from view and remained in Canada, working and hob-nobbing with others who have ties to violent terrorist organizations, which have vowed to maim and murder our U.S. neighbors.

But it gets worse. Even though Ressam had been arrested twice and spent two weeks in jail for

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Licia Corbella *is editor of the* Calgary Sun. *This column appeared in the* Winnepeg Sun *on December 28, 1999.* *© 1999, it is reprinted with permission.*

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theft while in Montreal, he was not deported at that time either. Instead, he used an alias, got a baptismal certificate and obtained a Canadian passport — this despite the fact he has been twice arrested and fingerprinted.

Notwithstanding his Canadian passport, which was legitimately issued, U.S. authorities in Port Angeles, Washington, stopped Ressam on a hunch as he drove off a ferry from Victoria and found a trunkload of nitroglycerin and other bomb-making materials. Ressam had booked a room in a hotel near Seattle's Space Needle where millennium celebrations were expected to take place.

As a result of this and other incidents, Canada is being soundly lambasted by critics on both sides of the world's longest undefended border, who say that Canada is a safe haven for terrorist groups. As a result, the U.S. has beefed up surveillance at all border crossings, causing delays for all who wish to cross, including legitimate Canadian passport holders.

Indeed, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service has been warning the Liberal government repeatedly that some 60 terrorist groups are active in Canada and even allowed, under our tax laws, to raise funds here as charitable organizations.

Canada-based terrorists have played a role in the World Trade Center bombing in New York, suicide bombings in Israel, U.S. embassy bombings in Africa, assassinations in India and the Al Khobar Towers attack in Saudi Arabia. Last year, a terrorist living in Canada was arrested when his plan to blow up the New York subway system was intercepted.

And yet, when asked why Ressam was not detained and deported when his refugee claim was denied, all we hear from the Prime Minister and other officials are platitudes — that even suspected terrorists have the "right to due process" simply by setting foot on our soil. Incidents like these not only devalue our passport, they devalue what it means to be Canadian.

Pretty soon, if more suspected Algerian terrorists or others who are denied refugee status get their hands on Canadian passports, the rest of us can expect to start being treated like suspected Algerian terrorists.

The time has come for our immigration rules to be toughened up so that those who plan to hurt us — or our closest neighbor to the South — are given the option of either leaving the country or waiting for our painfully slow "due process" immigration system from behind bars. Then again, one taste of the Club Fed life, which includes golf and horseback riding, and they might choose the latter.

On second thought, just kick them out! TSC

Report: Terrorists Find Refuge in Canada

WASHINGTON — The recent arrest of two international terrorism suspects illustrates that tranquil Canada has become a haven for foreign extremists.

"The largely untold truth is that Canada and terrorism go together," David Harris, former chief of strategic planning for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the country's chief intelligence agency, told a U.S. congressional committee earlier this year.

Since mid-1998, Canadian counter-terrorism officers have been investigating "over 50 organizational targets and about 350 individual targets," according to a CSIS report released last July.

Among terrorist organizations or fronts now or formerly "active in Canada," according to the report: Lebanon's Iranian-backed Hezbollah and Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic organization bent on derailing Middle East peace talks. Also Algerian, Iranian, Libyan, and Kurdish extremists, Sri Lanka's rebel Tamil Tigers and the Provisional Irish Republican Army, a militant faction of the IRA.

Experts said this is not a problem unique to the U.S.-Canada border. "This is one of the fundamental issues of globalization today. What do you do about open borders?" said Bruce Hoffman, a terrorism expert at the Rand Corporation, a private research organization in Washington. "This is the darker side of globalization."

— Jonathan S. Landay for the Miami Herald, Dec. 29, 1999

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Enforcement Problems At the Northern Border

As usual, it is lack of funds and personnel

Testimony by Mark P. Hall

[*Mark P. Hall is President of Local 2499 of the National Border Patrol Council. He gave this testimony before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims of the House Judiciary Committee on April 14, 1999.*]

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, my name is Mark P. Hall. I am the President of the National Border Patrol Council, Local 2499 in Detroit, Michigan. I have the honor of being employed as a Border Patrol Agent and proudly serving my country for over fourteen years. I currently work as a Senior Border Patrol Agent on the U.S./Canada border and have done so since 1987. Thank you for this opportunity to testify on the law enforcement problems at the border between the United States and Canada, focusing on the issues of illegal immigration, terrorism, alien and drug smuggling.

There has been a call from Congress and the American people to focus greater attention on controlling our borders. The additional resources to the southwest border over the past few years are much needed. But during this period the resources on the northern border actually declined. This lack of attention to our northern border undermines the enforcement efforts on our southern border and will simply divert the flow of illegal activity across our borders.

The past several years the Border Patrol has seen an increase in resources/manpower never seen before in the 75 years of proud history. The Border Patrol has gone from about 3,500 agents to approximately 7,600 as of September of 1998, a dramatic increase in just a few years. The increases in technical equipment such as, state of the art infra-red cameras, sensors and communications equipment have made the job of controlling our borders more manageable and safer for my fellow agents. These unprecedented increases were in response to the overwhelming call by the American people for us to get control of our borders. The southwest border was out of control. Alien and narcotics smuggling were rampant; the risk of arrest was far outweighed by the opportunities of the illicit activities transpiring on our borders. These increases in the Border Patrol resources have helped to stem this illicit flow and bring our southwest border under some form of control.

As of September 1998 approximately 7,357 Border Patrol Agents protect our 1,945 miles of southwest border with Mexico. Our northern border with Canada is 3,987 miles long with 289 to protect it. The northern border is more than twice the size of the southwest border. But yet the southwest border has a more 25 times the manpower than the northern border with less than half the border.

Illegal Immigration

The Canadian government's immigration laws make it simple for citizens of numerous countries to enter with nothing more than a passport. We see these individuals using Canada as nothing more than a stopover on their journey to the United States. Almost every year since my transfer to the northern border in 1987, our apprehensions have increased. Last year the Detroit Border Patrol Sector's apprehensions were at a five-year high. So far this year our arrest numbers are over 40% greater than last year for the same time. Ironically, amount of agents that work the field for this period has actually decreased. Though there has been a net decrease in available manpower, arrests continue to rise. Request from local, state and federal law enforcement have steadily increased as well. As the

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southwest border is brought under control, there is a corresponding increase in apprehensions on the northern border. The strategy to bring the southwest border under control without dedicating any resources and manpower to the other second frontline of defense is fatally flawed. The stakes in the illicit activities are great. The profits are too high for all of the smugglers to abandon their lucrative illicit activities. We have seen this, and assaults on agents have increased as the frustrations of the smugglers increase. Others have simply changed how they operate.

This is highlighted by an incident that occurred last month. I apprehended two Mexican nationals as they entered the United States illegally from Canada.

"Agents here in Detroit have been told the only detention funding available is to be used for aggravated felon aliens. ...We have been told we can arrest and detain only two aggravated felons per week."

After a lengthy interview and examination of their documents I discovered an emerging trend. The Mexicans flew from Mexico with their passports into Canada. They claim that under NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) Mexicans no longer need visas to enter Canada, simply a passport. They can just come to the United States by way of our northern border. They told me they chose the northern border route because the Mexican border is more difficult to cross into the United States because of the large Border Patrol presence. This has escalated both the prices the smugglers ask and the risk of apprehension and return to Mexico. The aliens said they can buy an airline ticket to Canada, travel to the border and cross into the United States. They said they knew the number of Border Patrol agents on the northern border was very small. Even if they were caught by the Border Patrol, they said they knew we had no money to return them back to Mexico or detain them. They were right. We have very little money to detain criminal aliens let alone the undocumented border crosser.

This fiscal year, funding for the detention of undocumented aliens is all but non-existent. What little we have seen has trickled in and is quickly gone. Agents here in Detroit have been told the only detention funding available is to be used for aggravated felon aliens. INS Deportations branch maintain the detention funding. We have been told we can arrest and detain only two aggravated felons per week. This has to be done during the hours that Deportations is "open" — Monday through Friday during day shift, otherwise these individuals are not detained because Border Patrol has no detention money. We have no INS detention facility in the Detroit Metro area, therefore we must rely on local jails and pay for the use of their facilities.

In March of this year, a local police department arrested five foreign nationals involved in a $45,000.00 jewelry store robbery. These subjects claimed to have been from five different countries. Investigation revealed these subjects were members of a highly organized interstate robbery/fraud ring operating in at least five states. One subject had a photo-altered passport. A fingerprint check revealed two were listed with the FBI as having previous felony theft convictions. Due to lack of detention funding these subjects were processed for a deportation hearing at a future date and released on their own recognizance with not so much as a dollar posted for bond.

Border Patrol Agents are dedicated to performing their duties in the highest tradition of the Agency. Unfortunately, we all know the duties of a Border Patrol Agent can call for the ultimate sacrifice. Last year, sadly, we lost the greatest number of Agents ever within a one-year period. At one point in the Detroit Station, 50 percent of the Agents had been involved in a shooting. Personally, I have been involved in two shootings on the northern border. When Border Patrol Agents answer the call to protect our nation's borders, only to have the violators of law show little concern for arrest, because we have no money for detention or repatriation, it has a devastating effect on our morale.

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This frustrating dilemma is taking its toll on agents. The tongue-in-cheek use of the acronym "C.A.R.P." which stands for "Catch and Release Program," is common on the northern border.

One of the Border Patrol's biggest problems on the northern border is lack of resources. There is not one station within the Detroit Border Patrol Sector that has agents on duty 24 hours a day. There are days when not a single agent is on duty. Often days go by without an agent even coming close to patrolling our sector's northern border area. The manpower shortage is alarming. Agents have to respond to other law enforcement agency's requests concerning foreign nationals in an area responsibility ranging through four states with only 19 field agents. Agents must also participate in oral hiring boards, academy details, and details to the southwest border. At one point, the Detroit Station had three agents detailed to the southwest border for 30 days, thus leaving only four out of seven at the station for the day to day patrol duties. Last summer the manpower shortage was so great and calls from other agencies were high, the station's patrol boat had less than 20 hours of service logged. With such shockingly low actual border patrolling hours we can not even get an idea of what is happening on our northern border.

"In the Detroit Sector it is not uncommon for an agent to travel 200 miles one way to pick up an alien from another law enforcement agency only to process the individual and then release him."

In the Detroit Sector it is not uncommon for an agent to travel 200 miles one way to pick up an alien from another law enforcement agency only to process the individual and then release him. The Detroit Sector has only one Detention Enforcement Officer to transport these individuals. Over the past two years the Detroit Sector's only Detention Enforcement Officer travels over 200 miles per day on average. More support personnel are needed to free Border Patrol Agents to do their regular duties.

As stated earlier, the Detroit Sector has 19 field agents. This year the Detroit Border Patrol Sector's management/union partnership council drafted a proposal describing what they felt would meet the sector's manpower needs for 24-hour-on-duty coverage. The minimum number was an astounding *additional* 104 Border Patrol Agents or 5 1/2 times as many field agents as currently in the sector. This, I believe, would have to be done over several years. It is my firm belief that northern border agents should begin their service at the southwest border for a number of reasons. First, to obtain the foreign language skills needed to do the job, which someday could save that officer's life. Another reason is to gain the unique skills necessary to work the southwest border so that when they are detailed to the southwest border for short periods of time, they are effective. Finally, and by no means the least importantly, employees from the southwest border should be allowed to transfer to the northern border for morale purposes and to help stem an alarming rate of attrition on the southwest border.

Terrorism

The FBI has identified several Mid-East organizations as known terrorist groups. The Detroit Metro area has the largest mid-east population on the globe outside of the mid-east. The Detroit area also has a significant Serbian and Albanian population. Although it is true, there are many other groups through out the world that are known and acknowledged terrorists groups, I am going to address our situation here locally in Detroit. Terrorism experts indicate that Canada has become an assembly point for potential terrorists seeking U.S. targets.

During the Gulf War the Detroit Border Patrol was in a high state of security. We received intelligence almost daily of potential terrorist smuggling efforts from Canada in our area of operation. The intelligence indicated that smuggling of terrorist across the border to transit to "safe houses" in our area was a very real probability. Due to extremely low staffing levels, vigilance on the border was minimal to none. This was the best we could do with the dismal manpower we had at that time. Our staffing

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today is less than it was then.

In the mid-1990's an environmentalist group sailed by vessel up the St. Lawrence Seaway to the Detroit River. They anchored off the shore of a local nuclear power plant located on the international boundary waterway. They then surreptitiously and illegally entered the grounds, scaled the cooling towers and held security, police, and FBI at bay for 6 hours. The nearest on-duty Border Patrol Agent responded from another state after being requested by the FBI. This group transited more than 100 miles of our international waterways unmolested, unchallenged by any law enforcement. We can only be thankful that this group did not have more of a destructive motive. Our role is to protect and secure our national sovereignty, but we are unable to do so effectively because of the lack of personnel and resources.

In summer 1995 Detroit Border Patrol had received reports that a group of more than 20 Serbians at an unknown location in the Windsor, Ontario, Canada area. These individuals, at least some were thought to have terrorist ties, were suspected to attempt entry into the United States via the Detroit River. One evening while no agents were on duty, we received a call from the U.S. Coast Guard. They had apprehended six of these subjects, only after their boat broke down in the Detroit River in front of the Coast Guard Station. Witnesses stated this boat was seen traveling back and forth from Canada to the U.S. all day, always loaded with people. All six subjects in the boat were listed on our "lookout" bulletin. Suspiciously, only the operator of the boat had a sunburn. I can not tell you how many made of the other 20 individuals made it to our shores, or how many were suspected terrorists.

Drug Smuggling

We know drug smuggling is prevalent on our Canadian border, but the actual extent is unknown for all of the previously mentioned reasons. Over the past several years Detroit Sector Border Patrol has been involved in several millions of dollars worth of narcotics seizures. We have arrested Canadians buying drugs to resell them in Canada. Agents have arrested Americans taking drugs to sell in Canada. We have stopped watercraft on our border and found hidden compartments with drug dogs alerting on these empty spaces, indicating there had been drugs in them. I stopped watercraft with specially designed PVC type containers that could be tethered underwater to a boat for surreptitious transport of contraband. Again, a police drug dog alerted us to the presence of a controlled substance.

We have detained individuals coming from Canada via the Detroit/Windsor freight train tunnel (this tunnel runs under the Detroit River from Canada). We have stopped known gang members with empty duffel bags making return trips from Canada, persons with pending criminal drug cases, pending weapons smuggling cases to name a few. This tunnel has been a hot bed of illicit activity ever since prohibition.

"This past year we were so short of manpower it was difficult to get two agents on duty at the same time to run the Detroit patrol boat. Border Patrol agents rode with the Coast Guard in order to have some coverage."

Intelligence indicates that the increasing Asian gangs in Toronto, Ontario, are smuggling heroin into the United States across our northern border and smuggling back cocaine. Intelligence tells of increased marijuana smuggling from Canada into the United States because of an increasing trend toward hydroponics production in Ontario, British Colombia, and Quebec.

Confidential sources of information tell us that contraband smuggling across the waterways is rampant. We are told that individuals run contraband by boat with little fear of being stopped due to the meager law enforcement presence. We are told they would rather travel unchallenged by boat as opposed to by car and face questioning at a traditional vehicle Port of Entry.

This past year we were so short of manpower it

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was difficult to get two agents on duty at the same time to run the Detroit patrol boat. Border Patrol agents rode with the Coast Guard in order to have some coverage. On one such night last fall, while stopping and boarding boats crossing the international waterway from Canada, three boats ran at high speed and evaded apprehension by "blacking out" and outrunning federal law enforcement. This was just one night! This past year a "jet ski"-type personal watercraft was stopped on the St. Clair River and four kilograms of cocaine were seized as it entered Canada from the United States.

Lack of Physical Resources

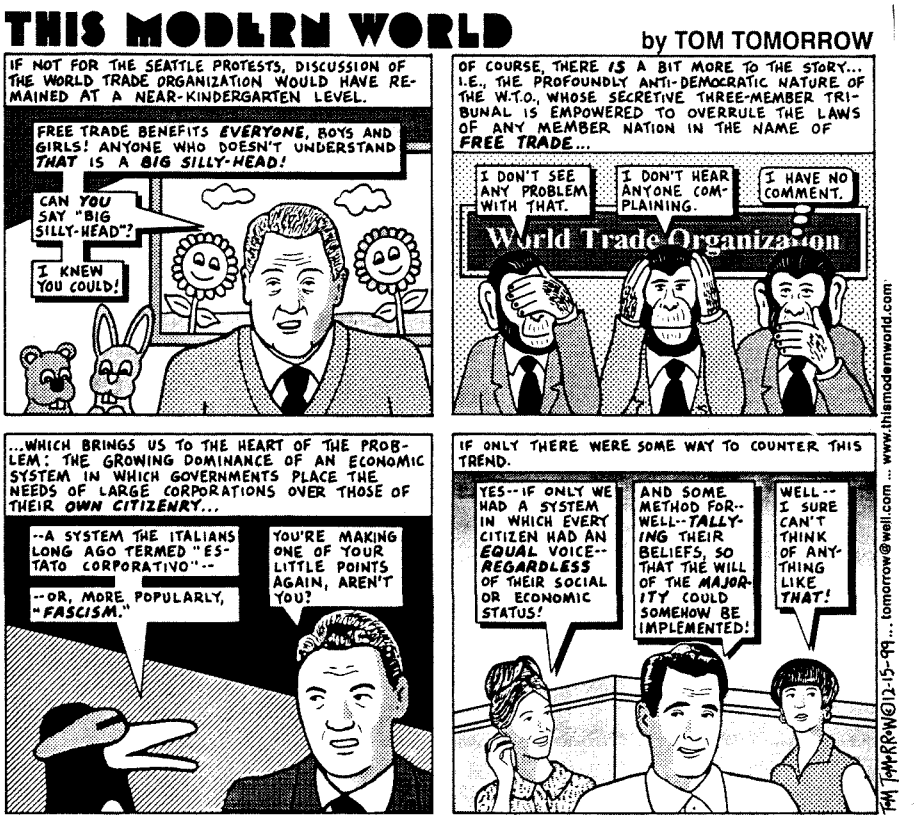
The Detroit Sector sorely lacks the resources to assist its agents. Its patrol vehicles are older and have high mileage. Boats are the basic tool for patrolling a border comprised entirely of water. Only four of our five stations in the Detroit Sector have a boat. Two of the boats we have, one at Trenton Station and the other at the Port Huron Station, are cast-off equipment from other sectors. These two boats were old and headed for the surplus pile, but were fixed up and put into service in the Detroit Sector.

The Detroit Sector two-way radio system, as most others on the northern border, is outdated and easily scanned by smugglers. When agents leave their patrol vehicles their walkie-talkies are useless in all but a few locations. We see agencies such as the Michigan State Police receiving huge federal funding (rightfully so) to replace their out-of-date two-way radio system with a state-of-the-art 900 MHZ digital system.

Intrusion sensors and cameras in the sector are decades behind in current technology. Intrusion cameras don't even project a "real time" picture. They simply "click" a picture and send it over a phone modem, thus valuable time and information are lost. Thereby the risk of escape by offenders is greatly increased.

Conclusion

The resources needed on our northern border must be addressed. I believe that the increased flow of illicit traffic across the northern border that we have already seen will only worsen as more pressure is placed on the southwest border. Prioritization is absolutely essential to any well-run organization, however, to declare that you have only one priority is patently unsound and impractical. To declare the Border Patrol has only one priority jeopardizes the safety of the men and women whose duty it is and threatens the integrity of our borders. TSC


THIS MODERN WORLD
by TOM TOMORROW
IF NOT FOR THE SEATTLE PROTESTS, DISCUSSION OF THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE REMAINED AT A NEAR-KINDERGARTEN LEVEL.
FREE TRADE BENEFITS EVERYONE, BOYS AND GIRLS! ANYONE WHO DOESN'T UNDERSTAND THAT IS A BIG SILLY-HEAD!
CAN YOU SAY "BIG SILLY-HEAD"?
I KNEW YOU COULD!
OF COURSE, THERE IS A BIT MORE TO THE STORY... I.E., THE PROFOUNDLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF THE W.T.O., WHOSE SECRETIVE THREE-MEMBER TRIBUNAL IS EMPOWERED TO OVERRULE THE LAWS OF ANY MEMBER NATION IN THE NAME OF FREE TRADE...
I DON'T SEE ANY PROBLEM WITH THAT.
I DON'T HEAR ANYONE COMPLAINING.
I HAVE NO COMMENT.
World Trade Organization
...WHICH BRINGS US TO THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM: THE GROWING DOMINANCE OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH GOVERNMENTS PLACE THE NEEDS OF LARGE CORPORATIONS OVER THOSE OF THEIR OWN CITIZENRY...
--A SYSTEM THE ITALIANS LONG AGO TERMED "ESTATO CORPORATIVO"--
--OR, MORE POPULARLY, "FASCISM."
YOU'RE MAKING ONE OF YOUR LITTLE POINTS AGAIN, AREN'T YOU?
IF ONLY THERE WERE SOME WAY TO COUNTER THIS TREND.
YES--IF ONLY WE HAD A SYSTEM IN WHICH EVERY CITIZEN HAD AN EQUAL VOICE--REGARDLESS OF THEIR SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC STATUS!
AND SOME METHOD FOR--WELL--TALLYING THEIR BELIEFS, SO THAT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY COULD SOMEHOW BE IMPLEMENTED!
WELL--I SURE CAN'T THINK OF ANYTHING LIKE THAT!
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The Northwest Border

Canada's liberal immigration policies lead to substantial problems for the Border Patrol

Testimony by Dale E. Brandland

[*Dale Brandland is Sheriff of Whatcom County in Washington State. This testimony was given before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims of the House Judiciary Committee on April 14, 1999.*]

Mr. Chairman, I have been in law enforcement for 23 years and have been sheriff for the past 7 years. Whatcom County is located in the northwest corner of Washington State. We are just south of Vancouver, British Columbia. Our county has just over 2000 square miles and the population is approximately 160,000. Our northern border is shared with Canada and the population of greater Vancouver, just across our border is 1.5 million.

Drugs at our border

Because of our proximity to the border, Whatcom County has several agencies that are in some way involved in controlling the transportation of drugs to and from Canada. It is a pleasure to report to you that we enjoy a high level of cooperation among the local and Federal agencies. We meet on a regular basis and information sharing is the norm. We also enjoy working relationships with our counterparts in British Columbia. We encounter the full spectrum of drugs seen throughout the country. But, in a very general sense, much of our attention is focused on high-grade marijuana being exported from Canada and cocaine that is being imported into Canada.

I cannot tell you the number of cases that are generated by our Federal agencies but I can tell you that almost all of their cases are handled at the local level. Most Federal cases that are taken to the U.S. Attorneys Office in Seattle are declined because they don't meet the minimum weight threshold for prosecution. This means that they will not prosecute the case. The case is then referred to our local agencies for prosecution. It is handled by our prosecutor, processed in our courts and eventually those arrested are housed in the Whatcom County Jail or sent to the State Department of Corrections. If we did not handle these cases they would not be prosecuted.

We have watched the threshold for prosecution climb over the years. As things have gotten worse and the quantity of drugs seized increases , so does the threshold. The reality is that the Whatcom County criminal justice system is doing most of the Federal government's work, after the initial arrest is made.

Another unfortunate consequence of our proximity to the border is warrant arrests. It is not uncommon to have out-of-state fugitives apprehended at the border. They rarely agree to immediate extradition so we have to absorb the cost of prosecution, public defender, court infrastructure and, of course their time in jail.

Liberal Immigration Policies in Canada

Our friends to the north, the Canadians, are good neighbors but I must tell you that I am troubled by their liberal immigration policies. Anyone that has a passport can enter Canada and there is very little to stop them from entering the United States once they get there. Mr. Abu Mezer is a prime example.

Local Border Patrol personnel in Whatcom County had apprehended Mezer on three separate occasions, after attempting to enter the country illegally. He was finally held, pending formal deportation, but was able to post bond and be released. Approximately 7 months later he was shot by the New York City Police Department just prior to planting a bomb that would have blown up the subway system. There have been more recent incidents involving suspected terrorists entering the country at Blaine so I do not think that this is an isolated incident. The

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front line to stop this type of person from entering our country is the U.S. Border Patrol and as you well know, our front line is relatively nonexistent.

The Role of the Border Patrol

As you may well imagine the Whatcom County Sheriff's Office and the U.S. Border Patrol have a close working relationship. Both of our agencies have a limited number of people to work in a very large area so we regularly depend on one another for back up. Our personnel monitor each other's radio frequencies and it is not uncommon for both of our agencies to be involved in the same event. In fact, in March of 1998, two border patrol personnel apprehended a homicide suspect within minutes of the incident because they were monitoring our frequency. Had they not done this it is very likely that we would not have been able to resolve the case. Unfortunately, our relationship at the local level does not extend to the regional level.

I would like to say that I take strong exception to the decision that minimizes the Border Patrol's presence here. The attitude at higher levels seems to be that all of their resources should go to our southern border. I certainly agree that the problem is greater there, but to ignore the problems facing us at the northern border is courting disaster.

The Blaine sector now has 49 people assigned to it. That brings them up to the level they were at four years ago. Those 49 people have to cover all of Alaska, Western Washington and all of Oregon. They do not have enough people to adequately cover the border 24 hours a day, 7 days a week and that does not address the fact that they do not have *any* personnel to cover the coast line of that area of water that separates us from Canada.

Several years ago, the Border Patrol implemented a policy that diverted manpower from the northern border to the southern border. This was said to be a temporary measure because of an increased threat at that time. At the start, 50 percent of the sector's manpower was sent south. This practice is still going on today. Of the 49 people assigned to the Blaine sector, 3 are regularly sent south to bolster southern manpower. I believe that a cost benefit analysis would show that there is far greater benefit to the Border Patrol by leaving them here. It would have a big impact locally and I doubt that anyone would notice their absence down south.

Point Roberts

In Whatcom County we have a unique situation in that you have to enter Canada in order to get to one part of our county. I am referring to Point Roberts which is a small two-square-mile peninsula that is only accessible by driving into Canada. After you enter Canada at Blaine, you have to drive 26 miles to the north and west before you can reenter the U.S. at Point Roberts. The population is about 750 and I have two deputies that live there full time. If they arrest someone, we need to have the Coast Guard remove them by boat because we cannot drive them through Canada. Point Roberts has a port of entry but it is relatively easy to smuggle contraband or drugs in by boat and then walking into Canada. This is another area where we see very little of the Border Patrol.

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, I would like to conclude by saying that I am aware that our problems at the northern border do not compare with those in the south. But, I do feel that we have distinct needs and that those needs are not being properly addressed at this time. I don't expect the Border Patrol to shift its focus but I would appreciate it if they would acknowledge that there is a problem. TSC

Crime along the US-Canada border is...

- Widespread — the porous nature of the border's patrolling make certain areas nearly impossible to protect from penetration by smugglers.
- Growing — the development of a highly addictive Canadian form of Marijuana which is traded pound-for-pound for cocaine has "begun fueling a fledgling crack cocaine trade north of the border" while posing an imminent threat to vulnerable children in the United States.
- Frightening — in recent years, several terrorists who have since been apprehended, initially entered the U.S. through the vulnerable northern border, including one who was apprehended as he was on the verge of blowing up the New York subway system.

— April 13, 1999 News Advisory
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Henry Hyde, Chair

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Criminal Aliens in Utah

The problem is well away from our border cities

Excerpts from House Testimony

[*On July 27, 1998, testimony was received from several persons by the Immigration and Claims Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. The subcommittee is chaired by Rep. Lamar Smith (R-Texas). This first segment is from the testimony of Sheriff Aaron D. Kennard of Salt Lake County.*]

We have an immense problem with illegal aliens who continue to pose a significant crime problem to our communities, due to their drug dealing and other illegal activities.

As Sheriff of Salt Lake County, I operate two jails, and I provide full police services for unincorporated Salt Lake County and several municipalities. I actively support the DEA Metropolitan Narcotics Task Force that focuses on drug dealing in our residential areas.

One of our top criminal problems here in the Salt Lake valley, is criminals who come to our valley and use their illegal and undocumented status to help cover their criminal enterprises, that include selling drugs and committing violent crimes.

As we approach the turn of the millennium we face new challenges that might significantly impact crime. We will host the 2002 Winter Olympics. And we face tremendous growth. This will open even more potential for criminal predators to prey on our community. We must deal with current significant crime problems now so that they don't continue to impact us as we move forward.

Indeed, one of the significant crime problems that currently impacts our valley is that which is perpetrated by criminals who are in our country and our community illegally. My jail system has felt the brunt of that impact more than any single police agency.

We have not been able to fulfill our responsibility to incarcerate persons who are pending adjudication. This greatly frustrates the efforts of me and my staff. In order to help meet the challenges of our growing jail population, we have taken some creative steps to help us get by until our new jail is built.

We have used electronic monitoring. This program, along with creative conversion of administrative space to jail space has allowed us to increase our net capacity by 350 additional beds.

Still, the criminal aliens remain a serious burden on our jail population, and they are a continual threat to the community.

Next year we will open the new 2,000-bed jail. Until that additional capacity comes on line, I have identified four additional actions that might help relieve the crowding and better serve the community.

First, we successfully convinced judges to start accepting guilty pleas to drug charges, and sentencing illegal aliens to jail, pending voluntary deportation. In order for this initiative to succeed, INS needs to remove illegals from my jails as quickly as possible. At any given time I have more than forty prisoners awaiting deportation.

Second, INS has a fingerprinting system which they use to track illegal aliens. It is independent of the fingerprint system (Western Identification Network) used in my jails. Since INS does not interface their system with WIN, it would benefit INS to install a personal identification device in the jail to identify illegal aliens that have not been entered in the WIN system. This would help prevent premature release of repeat offenders who have not been through my jail system.

Third, I believe that INS needs to station an agent at our metropolitan jail in order to maximize the efficiency of the other steps that I addressed. Certainly, this would significantly benefit our local law enforcement initiatives aimed at addressing crime by illegal aliens. But it would also complete a systematic solution to the problem of crime committed by illegal aliens now, and for years to come.

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Finally, I suggest that the INS create several "Disruption Teams" consisting of six to eight agents. These teams would move into selected problem areas, identify criminal illegal aliens and their support systems, which also consists of illegal aliens. This would in turn disrupt and deport criminal aliens and their support systems until the problem ceases to exist. The team would then move on to another problem area. I believe that such a problem solving activity would be a very efficient and effective way for INS to deploy its resources here in our valley, and around the nation.

I believe that our first hand experience here in the Salt Lake valley with crime associated with criminal illegal aliens gives us the drive toward finding innovative ways to deal with such crime. Today we ask the Immigration and Naturalization Service to become a more aggressive partner with us in attacking this level of crime in our valley.

* * *

[*Mary Callaghan is a member of the Salt Lake County Board of Commissioners and chair of the Salt Lake County Criminal Justice Advisory Committee.*]

I come before you to share some of our grave concerns regarding the federal government's failure to fulfill its responsibility in removing criminal undocumented immigrants from our community. Over the past few years, a consistent statistic which has been very troublesome to us is the fact that approximately 80 percent of all felony drug arrests in Salt Lake City are of undocumented immigrants. Indeed, the percentage of undocumented immigrants being arrested on felony drug charges has increased from 47 percent of all arrests county wide in 1996 to 53 percent in 1997.

Please be aware that despite Salt Lake County and its 13 cities' recent efforts — 350 new jail beds, additional officers and equipment — the Salt Lake City number has remained at 80 percent since 1994 when it became apparent that we had a crisis on our hands. To have such a small percentage of our population (who are unlawfully) committing so many serious crimes, including homicide, attempted murder, drug sales, etc., is totally unacceptable.

Of equal concern is the fact that so far in 1998 we have had to release 500 other jail inmates who should have been detained but have been freed due to the federal consent decree which places a cap on the total number of detainees within the jail. If we were not holding 100 to 140 undocumented immigrants on a typical day, we would not be having this problem to this extent. As it is, we are spending $132 million in property-tax dollars on a new jail, in part to address these required releases. We absolutely cannot let undocumented immigrant drug dealers have free reign

When I first went to Congress, almost two years ago now, and started to talk about some of the illegal immigration problems back home, most people were pretty skeptical. Then I presented these statistics as reported in 1995 by the Salt Lake County Board of Commissioners:

- 20 percent of illegal aliens migrating to Utah do so for criminal activity — bringing drugs to sell or exchange for stolen goods (mostly guns);
- 45 percent of homicides in Salt Lake County involved illegal aliens; and
- 80 percent of those arrested for felony level narcotics violations in Salt Lake City were undocumented aliens, but only six percent of these ended up in INS hands.

The problems of illegal immigration no longer touch only our border states such as California, New York, Florida and the Chairman's own state of Texas. In fact, INS statistics show that out of every three illegal aliens to cross the border, only one is picked up by the border guard.

As a result, Salt Lake City, at the crossroads of Interstate 15 which extends up from the south, and Interstate 80, which extends out from the west, has become today a new area of opportunity for drug-trafficking, in particular, and illegal immigration, in general, as these problems spread out from border states and into our interior states — such as Utah.

— Rep. Christopher Cannon (R-Utah)
Opening statement before the
Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims
House Committee on the Judiciary
July 27, 1998

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over our streets. We, as local residents, cities, counties, and the state, are doing our part to address this problem. But we have neither the resources nor the authority to do the federal government's job as well.

We request your assistance in four initiatives:

First, the local INS office has received some new help and it has made a difference in the number of illegal immigrants that the office has been able to process. Nevertheless, the INS still has many more cases than it can handle. Congress has authorized approximately 5,000 new INS personnel. Most of whom are slated for border patrol. This leaves the interior of our country unprotected. Since two out of three attempts to illegally cross the border are successful by the INS's own figures, it makes little snese to have the vast majority of INS personnel stationed there. Rather, a significant portion of those new agents should be spread among interior INS offices.

"We, as local residents, cities, counties, and the state, are doing our part to address this problem. But we have neither the resources nor the authority to do the federal government's job as well."

Second, there is a proposal to cross-deputize local police officers as INS officers. Let me emphasize that the Salt Lake County Commission does not desire the authority to arrest individuals for being here illegally. Rather, we ask that when an individual is brought to the jail on a criminal charge and it is determined that he is an undocumented immigrant, we desire the authority to then assist the INS in transporting that person across state lines to an INS holding facility in Denver or Las Vegas. This will decrease the number of cells occupied by undocumented immigrants and allow us to retain and prosecute more of our local criminals.

Third, the U.S. Senate's Committee on Appropriations has reported out the fiscal 1999 funding bill for the U.S. Justice Department, in which it was noted that a temporary holding facility for INS detainees should be constructed in Salt Lake City. Of the recommendations you will hear today this is the most critical. The INS desperately needs a place in the Salt Lake City area in which it can hold undocumented immigrants for a few days until arrangements can be made for their removal. This facility must be built and anything you can do to ensure that happens will be most appreciated. Again, this will reserve limited jail space for the detention and prosecution of our own criminals.

Fourth, please extend the COPS grant to include jail correctional officers. Thus far, the COPS grant has provided many new officers who are on the street arresting criminals and bringing them to jail where the incarcerating authority (be it a county or a city) does not have the staff to process them. The fact that we are being inundated with criminal undocumented immigrants only exacerbates the problem. Please give consideration to this request.

In closing, please understand that we are grateful for all that you have done and we know that you have worked hard to ensure that Utah has the resources necessary to deal with what has become our number one crime problem. The public is well aware of this issue and is demanding action. We simply cannot accept open air drug markets and gun battles in our neighborhoods. The federal government must step up and fulfill its responsibility to address this most pressing problem in our community.

* * * *

[*The following testimony was given by David Schwendiman, the United States Attorney for the District of Utah.*]

The goal of the Utah Federal Immigration Prosecution Project (FIPP) is to bring federal resources to bear on the part of the crime problem in Utah that can be traced to those who come to the United States illegally, commit serious crimes, are convicted and deported as a result, then come to Utah and continue criminal careers that threaten public safety.

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The project was conceived as a way to interrupt the illegal reentry cycle that seems, at least, to be the norm for illegal immigrants convicted locally of serious offenses. Prosecuting qualified offenders for violations of 8 U.S.C.§1326(b) and enhancing their sentences by applying 8 U.S.C.§1326(b)(2), the aggravated felony reentry provision, exposes them to up to twenty years in federal prison. Successful prosecutions eliminate them as recurring threats to public safety whether in Utah or elsewhere. Once they are in federal prison they are no longer a burden on our overtaxed local jails and prisons.

The number of defendants who have been prosecuted is low in relation to the number of possible defendants who have been or who are now in state and local custody.

The volume we are doing is a window on the breadth of the problem, but a look at a specific case or two will give you a better feel for how serious the problem is. Keep in mind that these defendants are not people who came to Utah to make a better life for themselves or their families by working tough, menial jobs in the service, agricultural or tourist industries, although they may have followed or traveled to Utah with those who did. Instead, they are hardened, violent, dangerous criminals who are as great a threat to the hardworking, legal immigrant as they are to you and me.

One of our most recent cases involved a 36-year old Mexican national who was sentenced on July 1 to 115 months in federal prison. The defendant has a long criminal history in the United States including California convictions for possession of stolen property, battery on a peace officer, driving under the influence of alcohol, resisting arrest, hit and run resulting in death, and manslaughter; illegal re-entry of a deported alien in Arizona; and two driving under the influence arrests and a reckless driving charge in Utah. He was deported to Mexico twice; once from California and again from Arizona. He came to our attention while he was serving a 180-day sentence in the Salt Lake County jail for driving under the influence.

A second defendant was taken into our custody by the Service in Ogden last summer. He was sentenced in November 1997 to 77 months in federal prison. He had been deported from the United States five times before he was caught in Utah. In just a five-month period in late 1991 and early 1992, the man was deported three times. His immigration history shows that he was deported from California on September 2, 1998; Portland, Oregon, on August 28, 1991; El Paso, Texas, on October 28, 1991, and January 16, 1992; from California again on May 28, 1994; and from Washington State on September 8, 1995, and April 26, 1996. While he was in the United States between deportations, he was convicted of a variety of offenses, including delivery of a controlled substance (cocaine), theft, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and assault, all in Oregon; rape in California; assault and theft in Texas; and manufacturing or delivering of a controlled substance (cocaine) in Washington.

"Keep in mind that these defendants are not people who came to Utah to make a better life for themselves... Instead, they are hardened criminals who are as great a threat to the hard-working, legal immigrant as they are to you and me."

In May this year, another defendant was given an 84-month sentence for violating § 1326(b)(2). He was first deported from California on January 27, 1995, after serving a four year prison term. He was deported again on January 22, 1997, once more from California. His criminal record includes several California narcotics convictions. In 1989, he was arrested with twenty-one rocks of cocaine in his possession. He was arrested on another occasion selling cocaine to an undercover police officer. When he was arrested in 1992 for public intoxication, officers found sixteen pieces of rock cocaine inside a Crazy Glue container in his pocket. Before he came to our attention he had already served twenty four months in federal prison after being convicted in California in April 1995 for entering the country illegally. Almost a year to the day

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after his January 1997 deportation this defendant was arrested in Salt Lake City selling a twist of heroin to an undercover narcotics officer near Pioneer Park. He came to our attention a few days later while he was in the Salt Lake County Jail serving an 80 day sentence on the narcotics charge.

In March, a 30-year-old defendant was sentenced to 77 months in federal prison for violating §1326(b)(2). The defendant has an extensive criminal record in California, including several convictions for grand theft auto, possession of a controlled substance, and burglary. He was deported to Mexico from California on February 5, 1994. In June 1994, apparently just months after a second deportation, he was in court facing assault charges in Utah. In 1995, he was arrested near Perry, Utah, and charged with possession of a controlled substance with intent to distribute and possession of drug paraphernalia. He was deported to Mexico from Nogales, Arizona, on May 20, 1996. On June 17, 1996, less than a month later, he was arrested for theft and possession of drug paraphernalia in Murray, Utah. He came to our attention last September while he was serving a one-to-fifteen year sentence in the Utah State Prison for possession of a controlled substance with intent to distribute.

I am certain that we have only scratched the surface when it comes to the number of potential aggravated felony reentry defendants that reside in the Prison, in jails in Utah, and in our communities."

We don't know really why these people came to Utah. We have interviewed some of our defendants in an effort to learn more about why they chose to come to here. What little we do know right now, however, suggests many came to Utah because they believed, with some justification, that if they were caught selling narcotics, for example, they might be prosecuted, but rather than keep them in custody and take up precious jail space, local authorities would give them minimal sentences and simply deliver them to the Service for deportation. Once deported, they could quickly and safely return to the United States using another identity and pick up where they left off without more than a few days or weeks interruption. Economically it was worth the risk. Others came to Utah because they could hide within the ethnic gangs that have grown up in some of the neighborhoods along the Wasatch Front. Still others came to Utah because they believed law enforcement is overwhelmed by the immigration problem and has neither the will nor the resources to be much of a threat to them. They were willing to risk detection and arrest because the chances of either happening to them were low and the consequence minimal. Some came to Utah because they were part of organized drug trafficking enterprises exploiting the market for illegal narcotics that exists in the District. The chance they were willing to take to make a great deal of money outweighed their fear of being caught and prosecuted.

As I mentioned earlier, the idea behind the District's immigration prosecution project was not to single out an ethnic or racial group or a single nationality for special treatment. The goal was to help ensure public safety by identifying, prosecuting and incarcerating people who pose a significant threat to the peace and well-being of the community. Since the beginning of the project the District has been sensitive to the concerns of the Hispanic community, because, candidly, the overwhelming majority of defendants are Mexican nationals. I understand the suspicion and fear that follow any concentrated effort to address immigration problems, especially when it involves identifying and prosecuting those suspected of being in the United States illegally. As a consequence, as United States Attorney, I have sought out leaders in the Mexican and Mexican-American communities and leaders in the Hispanic community to explain the program and field questions about what we are trying to do and calm the fears of citizens and legal immigrants that they will be unfairly or mistakenly caught up in our project or harassed as a result. Our criminal Chief, Paul Warner, and I speak regularly with Ms. Anacelia Perez de Meyer, the Mexican

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Consul, to make sure she is fully informed regarding the program. I am proud to report that the District has received unqualified support for its program from these communities and their representatives.

The project so far is a success. I am certain that we have only scratched the surface when it comes to the number of potential aggravated felony reentry defendants that reside in the Prison, in jails in Utah, and in our communities. The threats these people pose makes finding them, prosecuting them, convicting them, and then sentencing them in ways that prevent them from returning to this or another state an important and worthwhile use of the resources that have been made available to us to use for that purpose.

In order to sustain what we have started, however, several things must occur.

We must be able to convert our Special Assistant United States Attorney and our three temporary Assistant U. S. Attorneys to permanent positions.

The IDENT system of fingerprint identification successfully used by the Service in other locations to quickly determine alien status and immigration history must be installed at as many strategic points in Utah as possible to allow the early and accurate identification of potential aggravated felony reentry defendants who are in the state criminal justice system. The expanded use of IDENT will eliminate the problems, delays and missed opportunities caused by suspects who give false identities when they enter the system.

The Memorandum of Understanding between local law enforcement and the Service must be acted upon quickly so that officers can be carefully selected, properly trained and then rapidly deployed to assist the Service in identifying criminal aliens, aggravated felons and candidates for prosecution as aggravated felon reentries.

As an adjunct to the project it is essential that the Service continue to process for deportation convicted felons and aggravated felons who are not eligible for prosecution as aggravated felon reentries.

There must be support for contracting for and building additional jail space in the District, both to house defendants being prosecuted federally and for keeping those the Service must detain in order to process them for deportation. Nearly all of the federal detainees now awaiting trial, sentencing or designation in the jails in use by the District, including those in Salt Lake County, Davis County, Tooele County, and Wasatch County, and in Bannock County and the Bingham County in Idaho, are there because of the District's federal immigration prosecution project. Imaginative management of the problem created by the limited space available to house federal detainees is working, but it cannot succeed over time in the face of the increased pressure that will result from more and more defendants being fed into the system by the project, people for whom release is not an alternative. The jail space issue is not a purely federal problem. The federal need for jail space is a direct result of what the Service and the United States Attorneys Office are doing to help the community address a very serious public safety issue. We need local and national understanding, support and assistance to be able to continue that effort.

"...[the project] cannot succeed over time in the face of the increased pressure that will result from more and more defendants..."

The Service must provide the enforcement agents necessary to fully implement the project as it was envisioned at the time of the Crime Summit. The Interior Enforcement Strategy drafted by the Service encourages coordination with United States Attorneys to build a "national prosecution program for criminal alien reentry after removal." In Utah, the program is already in place. The best way to achieve the Service's goals and objectives for interior enforcement in Utah is to fully staff and support the District's federal immigration prosecution project.

A defendant who was recently interviewed told us he came to Utah because he was told by people in Mexico that things were tougher in Utah, but if he laid low for a year he could come here without worry. He was told the authorities in Utah would eventually give up. The whole project would die in a year, they said. I don't want that prediction to come true. We need your help if that is to be kept from happening. TSC

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Chinese People Smuggling

Business for an international underworld

by Mark Craig

[*Editor's Note: This paper was given at the Social Contract Writers' Workshop in Arlington, Virginia, October 17, 1999.*]

ABSTRACT

Illegal migration from the People's Republic of China is a major cause of concern to many countries around the world, particularly within the First World.

Organized Chinese crime syndicates have facilitated the illegal movement of millions of Chinese post-1978, generating billions of dollars in income.

The social construction of diaspora communities has undergone significant changes as new political elites emerge, boundaries are expanded, and underworld activities broadened.

Governments, for various reasons, have been slow to appreciate the magnitude of the problem, with many appearing consistently Delphic and noncommittal on the issue.

As a consequence Chinese organized crime is now truly a global phenomenon: diaspora communities are swollen with the less fortunate and educated: exploitation and victimization are rampant; underworld economies are booming; communities are polarized; and authorities in the main appear conspicuously devoid of solutions.

Although scientific research on the specific issue of Chinese people smuggling is wanting, from a sociological perspective some understanding of this phenomenon is immediately possible.

All communities have sub-cultures and an array of actors involved in anti-social or deviant behavior. In my view it is not so much the fact individual actors may become involved in illegal activities — because to some extent this is to be expected, but that illegal Chinese immigrants, particularly the Fujianese, appear anecdotally disproportionally represented within the Chinese organized crime milieu.

To understand the globalization of Chinese organized crime one needs to uncover the pattern of order underlying empirical observations. This is easier said than done. The two basic approaches to viewing and classifying the various events of the social world, according to their attributes or their relationships, will alone not yield satisfactory comprehension of structure.

Of significance, I would argue, is the relationship between three social actors: globalization, illegal migration, and organized crime, not the actors' intrinsic characteristics.

Although contemporary Chinese organized crime activities could be described in terms of fluid, entrepreneurial, even amorphous entities, the globalization of Chinese organized crime very much belies this simplicity. But, in seeking to uncover fundamental social positions, as defined by observable relations among social actors, one must undertake a structural analysis of a complete network.

This is difficult but not impossible. We know, for example, the majority of Chinese illegal immigrants in such localities as New York City come from the Fuzhou area of Fujian province.[1] What we don't know quantitatively is the measure of this proportion involved in organized crime. When we obtain these data we will be able to infer a structural relationship. This relational measure will subsequently capture the emergent properties of a social system that cannot be measured by simply aggregating the attributes of individuals.

China's Open Door Policy

Deng Xiaoping's 1978 Open Door Policy was really the catalyst for what would become the third major migration of Chinese since the end of the Ming

Mark Craig *is on the Faculty of Law, Department of Justice Studies, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.*

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Dynasty in 1644. This migration, like previous migrations, was fundamentally an illegal exodus consistent with the tumultuousness of the era of social and economic change ushered in by this policy.

Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, was if nothing else a pragmatist. He was the principal architect and visionary responsible for dismantling the bamboo curtain. As a political realist he understood the issues and gave the facts meaning through reason. Clearly conscious of China's need to modernize, Deng marshaled diaspora communities to invest in their ancestral homelands. This in turn provided an information conduit to the outside world.

"...millions of Chinese, mostly from the southern coastal provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, and Zhejiang, illegally made their way abroad with underworld facilitation."

In the intervening years millions of Chinese, mostly from the southern coastal provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, and Zhejiang, illegally made their way abroad with underworld facilitation.

Elements of the underworld have been clandestinely utilized universally as agents of numerous government policies, and this in itself is nothing new. Successive governments in China have also maintained close relationships with the secret societies, viewing them in the main as political and social actors — instruments of the political elite. But when Deng publicly conferred de jure recognition of *some* triads, legitimizing them through the often invoked, but nonetheless fallacious patriotic raison d'etre, the message was quite unambiguous.

Deng's axioms "it does not matter what color the cat is as long as it catches the mice" and "to get rich is glorious" were not lost on the triads, whom he enlisted in 1979 to provide protection on his visit to the United States. Allegorically this was very significant as the Minister for Public Security, Tao Siju, was to subsequently signify, in 1993, when he revealed "triads are not all bad, some are quite patriotic."[2]

As a consequence triad capital poured into China, secret societies mushroomed, and the people-smuggling business, fashioned on the old credit-ticket system, became the life-rope for a cross-section of society, the demography of which comprised a destitute underclass seeking respite from economic hardship, the anti-social and criminal milieu, and segments of the elite, including the sons of cadres.

Historical Setting

Early Chinese emigration first occurred in pre-modern China, and covered the dynasties from two and three thousand years ago to the mid-Qing dynasty in the late 18th century. During this period Chinese mainly emigrated to Asian countries, particularly South East Asia. The subsequent period covered the decline of Imperial China through to the Republican period (the 19th century to the late 1940s), when Chinese migrated to most parts of the world; much of which involved the "coolie trade."[3]

By the mid-19th century central authority in China was very much undermined. War-lordism prevailed and banditry was commonplace. Continuous conflicts such as the Opium War of 1838-42, the great Taiping Rebellion 1848-65, and the second British-Chinese War 1856-8, all served to disrupt social order. The spectacular population increase of the mid-Qing period (it doubled between 1749-1851[4]) resulted in severe economic dislocation for those endangered by declining man-land ratios, forcing many to migrate out of their indigenous communities. From this point onward, China's experience was one of societal breakdown, dynastic decline and collapse, imperialistic penetration, armed invasion, and civil war.

Unlike other immigration programs, such as Indian immigration to Malaya, which was government-sponsored, Chinese migration was largely a private enterprise. Not only was it private, it was not officially supported because prior to 1893 Chinese migration was illegal, with the exception of the rights obtained in 1860 by the British government to import labor into its colonies and dependencies.[5] One of the principal ports for the recruitment of such labor was Amoy (Xiamen), the Hokkien-speech area of Fujian province. The first shipload from there arrived in Sydney in 1848, and California in 1854.[6] Nevertheless,

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most prospective migrants were unaware of this fact and government officials still regarded them as illegal migrants. Because of this, and the desire to pursue maximum profit from their human cargoes, the traders developed an effective control system through co-operation with the secret societies, which were dialectically organized and engaged in an array of predacious activities in the Treaty Ports.

Therefore, despite repressive edicts forbidding emigration, millions of Chinese migrated to Southeast Asia before and during the European interlude.

Having begun in the mid-19th century as a direct result of the Western impact during its industrial expansion phase, the gold rushes and railroad booms (Australia, Canada, the USA, South Africa, and New Zealand), Chinatowns were supplemented by the "first coolie trade" that emerged when slavery was abandoned (Fiji, South and Central America).[7] In the early 20th century further migration was halted by racially discriminatory laws.[8] Reduced illegal migration continued which, although quantitatively unimportant, played a crucial political role as it ensured the Chinatowns remained as closed, under-policed communities dominated by secret societies controlling illegal migration. As secret societies controlled the export of illegal migrant coolie labor from China, it was not difficult for Chinatown's secret societies to assume the debts of the coolies through the tongs. Secret society- dominated tongs, such as the Che[e] Kung Tong very quickly acquired a large number of indentured coolies whom it placed in employment, extorted, and subsequently utilized in their criminal workforce. This proved very prosperous and other tongs quickly followed suit.

By the late 19th century the secret societies were significant and powerful criminal organizations. Astonishingly they numbered in China (according to Dr. Sun Yat-sen,[9] himself a triad member) an estimated 35 million members.[10]

In North America, secret society-dominated tongs proliferated, profiting heavily from an underground illegal immigrant-supplied economy and the business activities that flourished in this bachelor society — prostitution, gambling, narcotics, and extortion. Consequently, competition for control became fierce, with the crescendo of violence culminating in ongoing "tong wars." In one year (1909), 350 Chinese were said to have died in New York City alone.[11]

Contemporary Chinatowns

The people-smuggling market is particularly interesting when consideration is given to social structure issues within the Chinatowns. Certainly this market could be interpreted as a sound and indeed rational economic model of capitalist enterprise — but it is the actors associated with the sustainability, and in some cases the advancement, of the Chinatowns organized crime phenomena and the nexus to illegal migration that presents a challenge.

Daniel Bell (1953) argued that organized crime is a way for new immigrants and minorities to gain material wealth and power in a capitalist society. Bell's "queer ladder" hypothesis may provide one possible explanation for the apparent increase in Chinese underworld activities within Chinatowns, particularly when the dynamics of social order are taken into consideration.

There are two layers of social order in Chinatowns: legitimate and illegitimate. The legitimate social order regulates political, economic, and social behavior, while the illegitimate social order oversees criminal activities.[12] Illegitimate order in Chinatowns is not inconsequential and demographics, in terms of commercial activities, are closely regulated in both the legitimate and informal economies. Accordingly, as Chinatown communities increase in size, whether through illegal or legal immigration, so too do illegitimate activities. Thus, as Chinatowns expand further scope is created for illegitimate activities. Of course, this does not imply Chinese immigrants are inherently pernicious — simply that Chinatown life is subject to finely balanced social order incorporating legitimate and illegitimate activities. However, this social order requires meticulous maintenance and can be severely disrupted when new actors disregard convention.

In the United States, in the wake of the Immigration Act of 1965 which ended the discriminatory national origins provision established in 1924, the Chinese population steadily grew. The semblance of order remained relatively unchanged; however in actuality the Chinatowns' self-regulating social controls were rapidly deteriorating. The major

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problem was the new immigrants, particularly those from Hong Kong, who were disrupting the status quo by attempting to establish their own criminal enterprises.[13]

The Wah Ching was one such criminal group to emerge post-1965 in San Francisco. From its origin in 1966 as a street gang, the Wah Ching developed into a sophisticated criminal organization with multiple international crime connections. During the 1970s and 1980s they became an organization that controlled most of the criminal vices in San Francisco's Chinatown and Los Angeles' Chinese communities. Their activities are not unlike early Mafia activities during the 1940s and 1950s which relied on protection and extortion rackets as their mainstay.

"Their activities are not unlike early Mafia activities during the 1940s and 1950s which relied on protection and extortion rackets as their mainstay."

During that time there may have been as many as 200 Wah Ching members and 500 criminal associates in California. Although primarily based in San Francisco, they developed strong international associations with Chinese organized crime groups and formed close ties with the San Yee On and 14K triads in Hong Kong.

Typical criminal activities of the Wah Ching include extortion, burglary, gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, narcotics trafficking, robbery, and murder. Their operations eventually acquired legitimate businesses including real estate investments, jewelry stores, restaurants, night-clubs, travel agencies, and ventures associated with the entertainment industry. By the early 1990s, most Wah Ching members and associates had been consolidated into the Wo Hop To triad.[14]

In the intervening years, illegal immigrants, many coerced or forced,[15] have swollen the ranks of established gangs by the thousands, and in many cases formed their own new organizations. They have not only successfully established their own identities but have sought the patronage of the tongs. For example, in New York City the major tongs are all associated with gangs. The Hip Sing is supported by the Flying Dragons, the On Leong by the Ghost Shadows, the Tung On by the Tung On Gang, and the Fukien American Association by the Fuk Ching. The On Leong and Hip Sing also sponsor gangs in numerous other cities in the United States, including Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Dallas.[16] Another Manhattan tong, the Canal Business Association, is supported by the Canal Street Boys, usually referred to by their preferred name: Born To Kill (BTK)[17]

Illegal Chinese immigrants have in some cases formed cohesive criminal entities, in the form of street gangs, and capitalized on the lucrative business of people-smuggling and subsequent post facto criminal activities, including kidnapping, extortion, and murder. The Fuk Ching gang is one example. With a membership in New York City estimated by some to be around 500,[18] and supported by the Fukienese Association, this gang has grown from a disparate group of illegal Fujianese immigrants in 1983 to a sophisticated organized crime entity, and organizer of large people-smuggling operations such as the ill-fated *Golden Venture*. On June 6, 1993, the impact of Chinese people smuggling was dramatically highlighted when the freighter *Golden Venture* ran aground off Queens, New York, carrying 300 illegal immigrants. In the melee that followed, at least ten people drowned attempting to swim to shore.[19]

In the contemporary period the demographics of Chinese communities around the world have changed significantly and can be directly traced to the illegal mass-migration from Fujian province. This province has long been an outward-looking area populated by people active in sea trade and smuggling. In the Fuzhou area two counties, Changle[20] and Lianjiang, are the two major locations from which the majority of illegal immigrants emanate. Although a systematic history of secret society-managed illegal migration has endured for centuries, it was perhaps events in the 1930s which socialized today's migrants to the high costs associated with illegal migration.

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Changle and Lianjiang counties are both famous for producing seamen and earlier this century many signed on with U.S. ships. In New York scores jumped ship, working long enough to return rich men, and in the 1930s shipping companies began demanding a $500 bond to prevent such desertions. Thus acquiescence to significant capital dispensation in return for economic opportunities abroad as illegal migrants became a norm.[21]

Today the illegal migrants spend up to $50,000 for passage to North America, and slightly lesser amounts for other Western destinations from Europe to Australia.

"[Re: Australia] I can't help but lament the almost systematic [government] ineptitude shown as this phenomenon has unfolded."

Australia's Problem

Perspectives differ internationally but, generally, one could argue without too much difficulty that illegal immigration is not a new phenomenon, has deleterious affects upon host societies, and is totally undesirable.

But some governments are slow to accept reality. Take the case of Australia, which has finally admitted "illegal immigration is an increasing threat to Australia."[22]

The Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet reported 771 boat arrivals in the 1998-99 financial year with an additional 1941 air arrivals in the same period. The majority of boat arrivals were from Fujian province.[23] Of course, these are only the detected arrivals — no one knows how many have slipped through.

Speaking from my own perspective on the Australian government's reading of this issue, I can't help but lament the almost systematic ineptitude shown as this phenomenon has unfolded. Consistently over the years government agencies have been in a mode of total denial, insisting such issues were something Australia need not concern itself with. The didactic arrogance of some responsible authorities, who professed to be prescient by virtue of their mandated responsibilities and subsequent *alleged* intelligence capabilities, is utterly deplorable given the predicament Australia now faces.

And what might that predicament be? A vexing and awkward question, no doubt, but this is no time for punctilious abrogation of responsibility. The fact is, quite simply, Australia reacted far too late and does not have the infrastructure in place to prevent future illegal migration. Worse still, it has been proven impotent in dismantling Chinese organized crime operations within the country and has no comprehension of the issues within China, particularly Fujian province. Australia established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1972 but still does not have good sources of information pertinent to this issue. Australia's diplomatic comprehension is driven by reactive policies from Australia, not from informed analyses on the ground in China or elsewhere.

Globalization is something the Australian government understands with respect to certain sectors, but it has failed miserably on the organized crime front.

Without a doubt, whether Australia chooses to acknowledge reality or not, it will experience the same problems found in North America and Europe — specifically, an unprecedented increase in Chinese organized crime activity. This will evolve as criminal stakeholders, fueled by an influx of illegal migrants, seek to service burgeoning underworld economies and will manifest itself in traditional vice activities (prostitution, gambling dens, narcotics), with its associated protection rackets, extortion operations, and the fundamental mainstay of the illegal Chinese underworld — kidnapping for ransom.

However, there is only so much of the pie to go around. As with North America and Europe, illegal Chinese immigrants in Australia will, for numerous reasons, be drawn to or forced into crime. And this will result in only one outcome — violence. For fear of appearing melodramatic, let us review a few salient facts.

What the Coming Violence

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Will Look Like

San Francisco's Chinatown is the largest Cantonese immigrant community in America. The criminal gangs within the illegitimate social order are like-wise preponderantly Cantonese. However, they are now facing considerable pressure from the disparate illegal Fujianese gangsters. The violent antecedents of the Cantonese-speaking gangs will ensure Fujianese-Cantonese machinations materialize through violent conflict.

In 1977 the Cantonese gained some notoriety for their callousness when the Joe Boys shot sixteen people, including five fatally, in a San Francisco restaurant called the Golden Dragon. Similar scenes were enacted in 1982 in Seattle's Chinatown when thirteen patrons of a gambling den were gunned down and murdered at the tables, and again in 1991 when five people were murdered in a Boston gambling den.

But the Fujianese are tough. They appear to be more resilient and apt to resort to violence in the first instant. They are also highly mobile and capable of harnessing powerful connections within the underground illegal Fujianese communities across North America, and further afield if necessary.

In New York City, the old Cantonese guard has given way to the Fujianese, much to the dismay of the Chinese community. This is a direct consequence of the hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants who arrived in the 1980s.

The transition throughout North America's Chinese communities has been extremely violent with hundreds of reported homicides and an unknown number of unreported homicides. Many of those that go unreported are of gang members who simply disappear, or illegal immigrants who never officially existed in the first place. This was highlighted when the New York City Police Department (NYPD) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) formed a task force to investigate the Flying Dragons, a vicious gang comprised of illegal Fujianese. In October 1995, thirty-nine members were indicted under the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) for numerous kidnappings (mostly unreported), extortions, immigrant smuggling, and thirteen murders the authorities had no previous knowledge of.[24]

The Flying Dragons are an enduring group who emerged from the waves of illegal Fujianese to protect the business interests of the Hip Sing tong. They, like their Cantonese counterparts, built their reputation and carved out their territory through unprecedented violence. On 23 December, 1982 they set the tone in the Golden Star restaurant by opening fire, killing three gang members and wounding eight others.

The Fujianese now completely dominate life in New York's Chinatown and their gangsters monopolize the illegal migration rackets, worth in excess of $3.5 billion annually. According to the INS, throughout the 1980s approximately 100,000 mainland Chinese, predominately Fujianese, were smuggled into the United States annually.[25]

"...a direct consequence of the hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants who arrived in the 1980s."

Further north, in Toronto and Vancouver, similar scenarios are unfolding.

Within the literature quantitative research specifically on the involvement of Chinese illegal immigrants in crime pre-migration and post-immigration is difficult to locate. Therefore one cannot categorically assume all illegal immigrants from China have criminal tendencies: although clearly they have little regard for the rule of law, both in China and abroad.

We do know, however, from anecdotal evidence in North America and Europe, that a certain percentage will become involved in serious criminal activities — much of which will invariably involve undue violence.

Conclusion

This short paper has attempted to elucidate some of the key sociological factors associated with Chinese illegal migration and organized crime. To reiterate, illegal migration is not a new phenomenon for the Chinese, nor is the involvement of the underworld.

Officials within the government of China are very

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much in complicity in the sanctioning of illegal migration. This, I would argue, covers the entire social, political and economic spectrum.

To a lesser extent foreign governments must accept some responsibility for the problem. The United States was the primary target of the major exoduses but was very slow to specifically address the issue. Other countries such as Canada are only now coming to terms with the magnitude of the problem in the wake of 600-plus Fujfanese arriving in Vancouver over the past three months. But Canada has yet to demonstrate any cogent or rational policies which one could envisage alleviating the situation. Australia, too, must take responsibility for avoiding the issue many years ago when it was apparent Australia was an attractive market for the people-smugglers. As a result Australia is now driven by policy making on the run and is totally reactive and unprepared for the next stage in the cycle — the rise in Chinese organized crime within its borders. TSC

NOTES

[1] See Chin, Ko-lin and Robert Kelly, *Human Snakes: Illegal Chinese Immigrants in the United States.* National Science Foundation, 25 March 1997, Washington, D.C.

[2] See Kristof, Nicholas D., and Sheryl Wudunn, (1994),*China Wakes: The Struggle For The Soul of a Rising Power,* Vintage Books, p. 198, New York.

[3] See Dudley L. Poston, Jr., and Yu Mei-Yu. (1992), "The Distribution of the Overseas Chinese" in Poston, D. L. Jr., Yaukey D., (Eds), *The Population of Modern China,* Plenum Press, New York, pp.117-148.

[4] From 1749-1851 China's population grew from 177,495,000 to 431,896,000. Banister, Judith, (1987), "A Brief History of China's Population" in Poston, D. L.,Jr. and Yaukey D., (Eds), *The Population of Modern China,* Plenum Press, New York, p.51.

[5] Yen, Ching-hwang, (1986), *A Social History of Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911,* Oxford University Press, Singapore, pp.111-112.

[6] Although, over the next four years more than three thousand coolies arrived in Australia, the Hokkien coolies did not establish the kind of communities founded by the Cantonese, who maintained a continuous presence in Australia, and in many cases replaced those who had returned to China with a son or relative. This explains why in 1965 there were only fifty or so Hokkien Chinese in eastern Australia, most arriving after World War II. Price, Charles A., (1974), *The Great White Walls Are Built: Restrictive Immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888,* Australian National University Press, Canberra, pp.46-48.

[7] There were other mechanisms for creating Chinatowns. Chinese from French-Indo China and the Dutch East Indies settled in France and Holland. Belleville in Paris became a Chinatown as a result of the expulsion of the Jews. The Chinatowns in Germany began with intra-European migrants but are now being expanded by masses of illegals.

[8] For example, the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act (Australia), 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act (South Africa), 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act (New Zealand), 1923 Chinese Immigration Act. and the 1924 Immigration Act (United States). These functioned in conjunction with various Chinese exclusion acts, such as those that operated in the United States between 1882-1943.

[9] Dr. Sun Yat Sen was a Three Harmonies Triad member. He repaid Triad members who had assisted him in coming to power in 1911 with positions in the government, police and military.

[10] Sterling, Seagrave, (1985), *The Soong Dynasty,* Harper and Row Publishers, New York, p.75.

[11] Booth, Martin, (1999), *The Dragon Syndicates: The Global Phenomenon of the Triads,* Doubleday, London, p.327.

[12] Chin, Ko-lin, (1996), *Chinatown Gangs: Extortion, Enterprise. & Ethnicity,* Oxford University Press, New York, p.12.

[13] One gang, known as the Joe Boys, refused to heed warnings from Chinatown elders and went after the powerful Wah Ching. On Labor Day 1977, they located the Wah Ching leader, "Crazy" Melvin Yu, at the Golden Dragon restaurant. Upon entering the restaurant they blasted away with shotguns and an assault rifle, killing four Japanese students and a Chinese waiter and left a further eleven wounded. The Wah Ching and another vicious Chinatown gang, the Hip Sing, also present at the time, were all unharmed. Interview with Detective Sergeant Daniel Foley, Gang Task Force, San Francisco Police Department, 22 April, 1996, San Francisco.

[14] Interview with Detective Sergeant Daniel Foley, Gang Task Force, San Francisco Police Department, 22 April, 1996, San Francisco.

[15] Many illegal immigrants have difficulty in repaying their passage to the criminal syndicates, while others simply seek to shorten their indentured servitude via criminal activities. Still others are forced to commit crimes. Kleinknecht, William, (1996), *The New Ethnic Mobs,* The Free Press, New York, p.173.

[16] Interviews with Detective Ming Li, NYPD, 5th Precinct;

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Detective Thomas Ong, Organized Crime Investigation Division, Asian Organized Crime Section, NYPD; and Detective Agnes Chan, Gang Unit, Intelligence Division, NYPD, in March and May, 1996, New York City.

[17]This gang was formed in 1986 by breakaway members of the Ghost Shadows and Flying Dragons. The BTK gang are comprised predominantly of Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese and are considered by the Chinese community to be ruthless. This gang gained much notoriety for encroaching on rival gang territories. On 27 July, 1990 gang members carried the coffin of their slain second-in-command through rival gang territory in Chinatown. Later at the cemetery, while mourners gathered around the grave site, three rival gang members opened fire with machine pistols. BTK members returned fire, and although no one was killed, seven people were wounded. The BTK were decimated through intense law enforcement action. However, they have now reformed and regrouped and the initials "BTK" are said to stand for Back To Kill. For a further account of contemporary Chinese organized crime activity, see Craig, M., "Chinese Organised Crime in North America," *Australian Police Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 2, June 1997, pp.85-110.

[18] Estimates of gang members and activities as reported by the Department of The Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Office of Enforcement, Criminal Enforcement Programs, Intelligence Division, Tactical Intelligence Branch, in *Overview of Asian Crime in the United States,* March 1995, p.8.

[19] See Craig, Mark, *The New Coolie Trade: Organised Illegal Emigration for Chinese and its Implications for Australia,* MA Thesis, Griffith University, January, 1995, p.47.

[20] In March 1994 Changle was reclassified as a County-level City. Fuzhou's new international airport is located there.

[21] Burrman, P., (1993), "Huge Boom in human smuggling—inside story of flight from China," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 27: A-1. Cited in Ko-tin Chin and Robert Kelly (1997), *Human Snakes: Illegal Chinese Immigrants in the United States*, Report submitted to the National Science Foundation for the research project entitled "Illegal Chinese Immigrants in the United States, p.40.

[22] Prime Minister's Coastal Surveillance Task Force Report, The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, June 1999, Canberra.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Interview with Lieutenant Joseph Pollini, Commander, Detective Squad, Cold Case Unit, NYPD; Tai Park, Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York; and Detective Margie Yee, NYPD, Cold Case Squad, by author on 26 March, 1996, New York City.

[25] Craig, M., "Chinese Organised Crime in North America," *Australian Police Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 85-110, June 1997.

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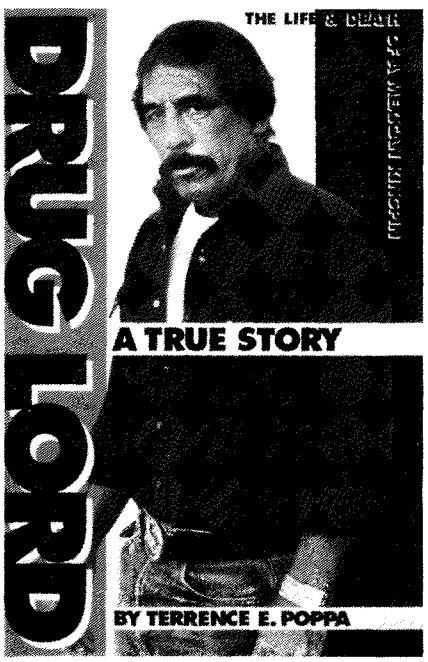
Drug Lord, the Life and Death of a Mexican Kingpin

by Terrence E. Poppa



Drug Lord is the daring exposé that first alerted America to the dangerous merger of crime and government in Mexico, a dark alliance that has fueled drug addiction and crime throughout North America. This updated version of the 1990 classic adds more about the career of Pablo Acosta. It shows how the organization was taken over by Acostoa's protégé, Amado Carillo Fuentes, the infamous "Lord of the Skies," who was able to transform Mexico into the greatest drug smuggling corridor ever seen in this hemisphere — thanks to the help of the Mexican army and federal police.

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From the Foreword by Peter A. Lupsha, professor emeritus and senior scholar, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico:

"This story of a Mexican drug trafficker would be worthy even if it had been limited to biography — this is in fact the first inside look at a Mexican drug trafficking organization ever published. But Poppa's book is much more. By following the life and career of Pablo Acosta, the granddaddy of Mexican cocaine traffickers and mentor of Amado Carillo Fuentes, Poppa lays out a brutal truth that many in Washington D.C. still refuse to believe. Namely, that drug trafficking in Mexico is controlled from the top by key agencies of government, political institutions and key officials among the elite. The drug kingpins, despite their riches and violence, are merely pawns in this system. They are the front men and the fall guys, the expendsable employees. They are like Aztec princes of old who were allowed to have their time in the sun but whose hearts were cut out in ritualized sacrifice when the glory days were over."

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Mexican Elites Control the Drug Trade

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

Last year the *New York Times* reported that undercover U.S. Customs agents were ordered by the Clinton Administration to halt an investigation into drug money laundering on the part of Gen. Enrique Cervantes, Mexico's Minister of Defense. As the *Times* revealed, "U.S. officials walked away from an extraordinary opportunity to examine allegations of the official corruption that is considered the main obstacle to anti-drug efforts in Mexico." The senior Customs Agent who led the undercover probe, William Gately, said his investigation ran a gauntlet of resistance from the start (Tim Golden, "Top Mexican Off-Limits to U.S. Drug Agents," *New York Times,* March 16, 1999).

Drug Lord: The Life and Death of a Mexican Kingpin
by Terrence Poppa
Seattle: Demand Publications
364 pages, $14.95 paperback

In his book *Drug Lord,* Terrence E. Poppa, an investigative reporter of the first rank, shows how the Mexican drug trade operates. It is controlled from the top by members of the privileged elite who run the government and other key institutions of society. The drug lords, such as Pablo Acosta, whose life of crime is the subject of this book, are simply employees who front for the powerful figures who permit them to operate. When a particular drug dealer gets out of line or is no longer useful, he is removed and replaced by someone else. As the author explains:

> *Mexico goes through the motions of dealing with drug trafficking as part of an elaborate deception. It will burn a field of marijuana in the presence of the media, but only after the tops* [the most potent part of the plant] *have been harvested. It will stage public burnings of seized cocaine, but it is more likely to be corn starch inside the packages, the cocaine having long been removed and sold to the favored groups. It will allow DEA agents in the field, but block and frustrate every investigative effort. Its facilitation of drug trafficking pump-primed drug addiction throughout North America, yet it routinely blames the victims and rages and fumes whenever it is accused of involvement. It will offer up a sacrificial lamb, some trafficker whose time has come, as a way of placating the victims. It will even offer up an occasional official. But then business will continue as usual*
>
> *The Mexico of today is an illusion, a country where tremendous time and energy is spent in deception .... Americans would be surprised and perhaps deeply disturbed to learn that these organized criminal assaults against the United States by a governmental system find their origins not only in the greed of a particular political class, but also in the depth of the hatred that existed within the power elite for the United States.*

The author shows how the system works in practice by tracing the career of one major drug dealer, Pablo Acosta. Until he was liquidated by the Mexican Federal Judicial Police, Acosta annually supplied around a third of the cocaine consumed in the United States, as well as tons of high-quality marijuana. From his base in the dusty town of Ojinaga, across the Rio Grande from Presidio, Texas, Acosta's organization provided drugs to traffickers throughout Texas and New Mexico to California, and as far away as Michigan and North Carolina.

Acosta was, in effect, given a license to traffic by Mexican authorities. For monthly payments, based

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D. *is editor of* The Social Contract.

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according to volume, state and federal police, and the military, allowed Acosta to operate his drug business. Acosta even carried military and federal police badges, allowing him to carry guns legally. The credentials apparently were a gift from the commander of the Fifth Military Zone, General Juan Arevalo Gardoqui, who was later appointed Defense Minister by President Miguel de la Madrid.

Locally, Acosta was both feared and respected. He bought goodwill by helping farmers, underwriting civic improvements, paying medical expenses for indigents, and other acts of charity. But this was good business, since the beneficiaries became extra eyes and ears for his organization.

Acosta's downfall was brought about by his own addiction to cocaine. He became a mental and physical wreck, unable to manage a complex drug trafficking organization. When Acosta was no longer useful, the chief federal prosecutor in Chihuahua issued a warrant for his arrest. He was cornered and gunned down in Santa Elena, near Big Bend National Park, by the Mexican federal judicial police.

The Mexican government heralded Acosta's execution as proof that they were serious about dealing with drug traffickers. In truth, Acosta's "territory" was simply handed over to another dealer, Amado Carrillo Fuentes. "It was more like a corporate restructuring where some executives get the ax and new officers are brought in," the author points out.

Pappa notes that the drug trade is only one of the Mexican elite's wealth-generating enterprises. A consequence of the plundering and resulting impoverishment of their own people is the great migration of Mexicans from what could be a prosperous country, to the United States.

Drug Lord is not only an immensely informative book; it is also a great read. I cannot imagine that anyone buying this book will be disappointed. TSC

Washington Notepad

Amnesties defeated — but only temporarily

Reportage by Roy Beck

WASHINGTON, DC

Americans who oppose federally forced population growth through mass immigration won major defensive victories in 1999.

"I'd have to say the country dodged several bullets in this session of Congress because immigration policy didn't get any worse than it already is," Mark Krikorian told the Associate Press. He is head of the Center for Immigration Studies, which favors reduced immigration.

From early in the year and accelerating after Labor Day, powerful lobbying forces and bi-partisan congressional leadership were pushing these four measures:

- An amnesty for 600,000 to 700,000 Central American illegal aliens that would bring in another 400,000 close relatives.
- A massive agriculture guest ag-worker program which after five years would allow up to 500,000 current illegal aliens to sign up for U.S. citizenship.
- A doubling of the H-lB skilled workers visa — and even a lifting of the cap entirely for computer programmers.
- The elimination of Section 110 of the 1996 immigration reform act that required setting up a pilot program to monitor foreigners as they enter and exit our country. This is a critical tool needed to track down people who enter the country legally on a visa and then never leave. The Senate actually passed this elimination

***Roy Beck** is director of NumbersUSA.com which tracks support for HR36 and other immigration bills and provides a detailed immigration action profile on each Member of Congress. He is also Washington editor of* The Social Contract.

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under the prodding of Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.).

But when Congress adjourned in November and the President signed the final appropriations bill, none of these four had been approved.

The White House, immigration lawyers and other leaders who champion the importation of foreign labor and the stimulation of population growth were disgusted with the results: "This Congress has been an abysmal failure in regards to immigration policy," said Rep. Luis Gutierrez, D-Ill., chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus' immigration task force. "A very disappointing year," agreed Jeanne Butterfield, executive director of the American Immigration Lawyers Association.

Two-year trend of rewarding illegal aliens

The results may have indicated a pause in a two-year trend in which the federal government was becoming increasingly open to illegal immigration. In 1997 and 1998, Republican and Democratic congressional leaders worked with President Clinton to reward hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens with amnesties that not only forgave them for breaking immigration laws but put them on the pathway to U.S. citizenship. The tendency in those years was to see illegal aliens as people who most likely will never leave the country and who some day will vote, thus making it politically astute to regard and treat illegal aliens as constituents.

This fall, large rallies of illegal aliens behaved like constituents, holding demonstrations at the Capitol and at the White House and demanding their "rights" to permanent residency from the federal government. Editorials in major newspapers, including those in Colorado and Minnesota, suggested that illegal immigration really isn't so bad and in fact is quite helpful to their state's economy.

Federal leaders, however, did not behave as though they believed the public felt that kindly toward illegal aliens, The president and congressional leaders did not push their 1997 and 1998 amnesties through the normal public process of debate and votes in committee and on the House and Senate floor. Instead, they attached the amnesties to massive appropriations bills in back-room negotiations among only a few people. Once attached, the amnesties could not be voted down unless Members of Congress were willing to defeat the entire negotiated appropriations and risk shutting down the federal government.

That is how an amnesty for illegal aliens from Nicaragua and Cuba was passed in 1997 and the amnesty for illegal aliens from Haiti was instituted in 1998.

"In 1997 and 1998, Republican and Democratic congressional leaders worked with President Clinton to reward hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens with amnesties that not only forgave them for breaking immigration laws but put them on the pathway to U.S. citizenship [and the right to vote]."

Sen. Abraham, President Clinton and others promised illegal-alien support groups throughout 1999 that they would win for illegal aliens from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala the same rewards gained in previous years by other nationalities. The push for a new amnesty was wrapped in terms of equity and fairness for illegal aliens of all Central American and Caribbean nationalities. If this amnesty had gone through, the logical next step would appear to be to appeal for equity for illegal aliens from other continents.

On the table of spending negotiations

When emergency spending-bill negotiations began in October of 1999, the stage was set in the usual way for the new and much larger amnesty. Although no media reported it during the negotiations, the Associated Press confirmed after the appropriations bill was signed that President Clinton had placed the Central American amnesty on his list of non-germane actions he wanted attached to the bill.

According to sources close to the negotiations,

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the effort was defeated because of a massive effort of citizens who made phone calls, sent faxes and e-mails and who in some cases actually had face-to-face encounters with congressional leaders. Alerted of the amnesty attempt through activist networks, the citizens made it clear to Members of Congress that what was at stake was a reward for hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens.

On the first day of calling, citizens found Capitol Hill staffers saying they knew nothing of an amnesty deal. But by the second and third days, that had changed.

Republican leaders began to tell callers that they had no interest in rewarding illegal aliens. With a new Speaker of the House, Rep. Dennis Hastert, the House Republicans played a very different role than when former Rep. Newt Gingrich was leading them. After the bill was signed and illegal-alien support groups accused Hastert of killing the amnesty, the spokesman for the Speaker was reported saying, "Making illegal immigrants suddenly legal is not a smart international policy." The citizen effort had been successful in educating many that the subjects of the amnesty — years after the end of the Central American wars — were not war refugees but illegal aliens.

"The citizen effort had been successful in educating many that the subjects of the amnesty — years after the end of the Central American wars — were not war refugees but illegal aliens."

The citizen onslaught was also waged on Democratic congressional leaders. Although there were no reports of Democratic leaders actively opposing the amnesties, anti-amnesty activists noted that Democrats may have lost their enthusiasm for a measure that had become too controversial. There were no signs of Democratic leaders demanding that the amnesty be included. Many media commentators on the appropriations process noted that the attachments which stayed on the spending bills were those for which little controversy had been stirred.

The same principles seemed to be at work with the question of H-lB temporary visas for high-tech and other skilled workers. Despite a push for busting the visa ceiling from the nation's most powerful industry, there appeared to be no attempt at the end to force it through. The most common assessment from the media and from high-tech industry sources was that Members of Congress had been so bruised from the popular opposition to the visa increase of 1998 that they just didn't have the stomach for going through it again.

All measures will be pushed in 2000

Nonetheless, all four defeated measures will be back on the agenda during the year 2000. The White House announced that the Central American amnesty will be one of its priority issues. The National Association of Manufacturers announced that one of its top efforts will be raising the H-lB visa cap. Agricultural growers were pushing for early action on their request to keep all their present illegal alien workers.

The primary amnesty vehicle in 2000 (as it was in 1999) will be HR36, introduced by Rep. Guitierrez. With more than 100 co-sponsors in the U.S. House of Representatives, it has to be taken seriously. Under it, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans and Haitians who have lived in the United States illegally or under color of law since December 1, 1995, along with their spouses and unmarried children, automatically would be granted legal resident status. In addition, it would increase the quota for unskilled foreign workers from 50,000 to 55,000 each year. According to a study by NumbersUSA.com and *The Social Contract*, HR36 would result in a net increase to the U.S. population of 1,080,495 new permanent resident aliens during the first 10 years after its passage. That does not count any children they would have. The Central American and Caribbean Adjustment Act of 1999 (HR36) is designed to expand the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1997 (NACARA) and the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act of 1998 (HRIFA), the amnesty programs passed during the 105th Congress. TSC

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Economism and the National Prospect

by John Attarian

America presents the disheartening spectacle of a nation seemingly hell bent on committing suicide through free trade and immigration. One of the main causes is a world view that may be called "economism," which dominates American life and thought. In order to understand our predicament and deal with it, it is necessary accurately to understand economism and its lethal errors.

Essentials of Economism

Economism presupposes that man is a rational animal, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain, who pursues gratification of appetites, which are by assumption insatiable.[1] One's life project is attaining affluence, so as to maximize access to consumer goods, hence maximize pleasure. Therefore the most important aspect of one's life is performance of economic activity — production, exchange and consumption. Since a society's ability to achieve affluence rests on efficient production, resource allocation and exchange, economic efficiency is prized highly. So is technology, which is deemed the key to mankind's mastery of nature and generation of affluence.

A corollary is that noneconomic phenomena, such as national sovereignty, autonomy, identity, cultural continuity, or even simply maintaining one's way of life undisturbed, are far less important— or even nefarious. More affluence therefore not only compensates for loss of noneconomic values, but makes one better off. Those who dominate our economy and politics treat the noneconomic values of others as expendable, and the consent of those whose noneconomic values suffer as purchasable with economic betterment. "That's progress," meaning economic progress, covers a multitude of sins, especially against noneconomic priorities. For example, the ruin by agribusiness of small farmers, who are supposedly better off for having urban jobs and amenities, or the devastation of farms and neighborhoods by highway construction and urban renewal.

Another implication is that affluence is the universal solvent of problems and grievances. Give people enough jobs, money, goods, services and entertainment, and they will be happy and peaceable. Trade will make nations economically dependent on one another, therefore make war counterproductive, and eventually eliminate it. Nineteenth-century free trader Richard Cobden declared that he saw free trade as a powerful moral force, "drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race, and creed, and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace."[2]

This presupposes that people are essentially economic agents whose noneconomic characteristics do not matter — interchangeable parts in mechanisms of production, exchange and consumption. This presupposition also informs free marketeers' perennial brag that capitalism is the best cure for discrimination. Milton Friedman, who made this argument, observed that "a free market separates economic efficiency from irrelevant characteristics"; since anybody, regardless of these "irrelevant characteristics," can act in the capacity of producer or consumer of a good or service, one's race, gender, ethnicity, politics, immigrant status, etc. doesn't matter.[3] When others perceive that these things don't matter for *the one thing that really matters — economics* — discrimination, like war, will wither away as economically costly, hence self-evidently silly.

This reductive assumption of interchangeability also underlies economism's advocacy of immigration

***John Attarian, Ph.D.**, with a doctorate in economics from the University of Michigan, is a freelance writer living in Ann Arbor.*

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and willful obliviousness to its noneconomic problems. Our increasingly insupportable way of life — itself economism's child, with its high taxes, demise of family farms and businesses, and consumer debt to support gluttonous lifestyles — has transformed children from economic assets to economic liabilities. For this reason and others, such as feminism, the fertility of American women, especially middle and upper class European-descended women, has been below replacement rate for decades. This will eventually mean the biological obliteration of European-Americans, an outcome a sane national policy would dread and try to reverse. Yet our economism-dominated politics responds not by lightening American middle class tax burdens and striving to keep people on small farms, which would injure the money-dominated agendas of left and right, but by pursuing massive Third World immigration, which serves them. Economism is indifferent to the disappearance of European-Americans. After all, it makes no difference for economic purposes if an "American" is a Christian or Jew descended from the colonists or other thoroughly assimilated Europeans, and steeped in America's history, or a newly-arrived immigrant who belongs to the Santeria cult, is hostile to native-born citizens, and could not care less about the original intent of the Constitution's framers or American history.

"[Economism] ...has transformed children from economic assets to economic liabilities. ...Is indifferent to the disappearance of European-Americans. ...Our public policy universe is equally steeped in economism."

Economism also argues that a natural harmony of interests exists among free people, and that while one person's plans may force others to change theirs, there are, as libertarian David Boaz writes, "no necessary conflicts between farmers and merchants, manufacturers and importers."[4]

That economism dominates America is obvious. For almost everybody, education is about "training" (the substitution of "training" for "education" is itself telling) for the "job market," to get a "good" (meaning lucrative) job, so as to attain affluence. Most Americans measure themselves, and each other, by their occupations, incomes, and standards of living. Not even in the dictionary half a century ago, "lifestyle" is now an obsession. Most women, and more and more men, are blatantly mercenary in choosing spouses. Prospective spouses protect their wealth with prenuptial agreements, a telling indicator of the ascendancy of cold-blooded economic calculation in American life and the concomitant atrophy of trust and love. The growing mania for gambling and state lotteries witnesses powerfully for our increasing engrossment in the dreams of avarice.

Our public policy universe is equally steeped in economism. It is shallow and naive to regard leftism and liberalism as economism's enemies. Economic conservatives' and libertarians' free market, liberals' welfare state and Keynesianism, and radicals' socialism and communism all presuppose that the good life is one of gratification through consumption. They differ only in their methods, in who is entrusted with bringing affluence about, and in how the consumption pie is divided. Economic issues — taxes, entitlements, trade — dominate politics; social issues such as abortion and education seldom receive much beyond lip service. (Affirmative action, remember, is about access to jobs and careerist "training.") Libertarian and "conservative" immigration advocacy always invokes economics, touting the immigrants' work ethic and economic contributions.

Roots of Economism

How did this philosophy arise, and how did it acquire such a hold on us?

Economism is a child of secularization. One of the forces driving the Enlightenment was growing criticism of and skepticism about Christianity, often culminating in atheism, and a wellspring of modern secularization. A corollary strain was philosophical materialism, which argues that there is no transcendent reality, that only that which is perceived by the senses

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is real, and that only matter exists. Julien Offray de LaMettrie argued famously that man is a machine. His disciple, the Marquis de Sade, who (as Lester Crocker admitted) merely took the philosophical arguments of the Enlightenment to their ultimate logical conclusion,[5] attributed everything, including thoughts and emotions, to material causes.[6] With the evaporation of religion and the ascendancy of materialism came the rise of determinism, especially economic determinism (e.g., Marxism).

Another, closely related, major belief in modern thought is that man, not God, is the measure of all things and the center of existence, and that the world is his oyster, to be opened, stewed and eaten. Science and technology therefore received — and retain — enormous prestige as the means to mastery over the world. So too did economics, since production and distribution of goods and services translates that mastery into gratification.

Secularization necessarily implies that man can find happiness only here on earth. Materialism necessarily implies that the good consists of pleasant sensations. And utilitarianism, another child of the Enlightenment and closely tied to 19th Century classical free-market economics, asserted that man is a utility-maximizing calculator, seeking pleasure and shunning pain, and propounded utility maximization as the ethical goal.[7] From all these perspectives, man's proper course is to manipulate matter, services and the money needed to acquire them so as to maximize this "good." That which seems to produce pleasure, comfort and convenience is prized accordingly.

A necessary implication of materialism is that that which is not material is chimerical. Loyalties to one's blood kin, local community, place, ethnic group, race, nation, religion, culture, neighborhood or way of life are fictions; they spring not from the really real, matter, but from myth and sentiment, without basis in reality. Being fictive, they are expendable. Those who cling to them, and resist social engineering, efficiency, immigration, or new technology, are invariably accused of irrationality, backwardness, Luddism, atavistic nativism, obstructing progress, and so on.

Darwinian evolution also contributed to the rise of economism. It provides a handy rationalization of economic ruthlessness: it's a tough world; only the tough and adaptive survive; competition is good because it prunes away the weak and incompetent. Small wonder that beliefs in Darwinian evolution and free markets were conflated in the "social Darwinism" of Herbert Spencer and many leading capitalists, who seized upon Spencer's phrase "survival of the fittest" to defend their practices.[8]

Another root of economism lies in America's history and national character. Americans have always given high priority to material advancement. Our national myths notwithstanding, America is not about religious freedom and was not settled due to yearning for religious liberty. England's exploration and colonization of America were authorized and supported by the Crown to increase England's wealth and power. Only in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where settled, respectively, the Puritans and the Quakers, was religion uppermost. The vast majority of people, British and non-British, who came here did so to get a bigger, better piece of the action than they had in the old country. And the vaunted American Dream is about attaining affluence, not noneconomic values.

America's prosperity has created a presumption in favor of economism; its fruits are, after all, sweet and plentiful. "Capitalism," Andrew Carnegie observed, "is about turning luxuries into necessities."[9] Creature comforts and conveniences are powerfully, insidiously appealing to the all-too-human desire for following the line of least resistance, and therefore highly addictive. Once one has started using such convenient but superfluous gadgets as television, VCR, microwave oven or air conditioner, one quickly becomes used to them and wonders how one got along without them. Giving them up becomes unthinkable. Acquiring ever more of them easily becomes a priority. After all, they make life easier and more comfortable, and free up time for fun. Thus for many Americans, their standard of living becomes a powerful propaganda organ for economism.

Another is advertising, which, Christopher Lasch argued, "makes the consumer an addict, unable to live without increasingly sizeable doses of externally provided stimulation."[10] For obvious reasons, business saturates our lives with advertising. The true purpose of children's television shows is to recruit new drafts of consumers by exposure to toy and other

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advertisements; the true purpose of sitcoms and soap operas is to keep the pressure to consume on for life. As a TV producer told one of his writers in the Fifties: "If you think television has anything to do with art, you're crazy. If you think it's entertainment, you are naive and misinformed. Television is purely and simply an advertising medium. Your job is purely and simply to write stuff to fill in the time and space between the ads."[11] It is virtually impossible to open a newspaper or magazine, drive, ride a bus, walk down the street, or listen to the radio without being bombarded with advertising. The daily postal deliveries are thrombotic with promotions, and at suppertime telemarketing stalks its prey.

Movies and TV shows are auxiliary advertising for economism. Very often, they depict characters in opulent dwellings and glamorous white-collar or professional occupations such as law or medicine, with unlimited spending money, leisure, and access to the sexual favors of attractive specimens. This childish fantasy fodder works powerfully to shape Americans' notion of the good life as one of opulent living standards, easy money and endless fun.

Moreover, countervailing forces are withering away. One antidote to engrossment in economic life, obviously, is transcendent religion, but American religion has largely become trivial, secularized and political. A rich, vivid interior life arising from a well-stocked, well-cultivated mind is another strong defense; one who keenly appreciates art, music, poetry, history, philosophy and literature is unlikely to believe that only matter matters. Unfortunately, careerist "training" has displaced liberal education, and the latter's undemanding, politicized successor is a ghastly flop at cultivating the mind. A culture that prized self-restraint and loyalty to high standards and presented heroes for emulation has been replaced by a commercially fabricated "culture" of entertainment which does economism's work. Through decades of religious, educational and cultural decadence, Americans have undergone a cumulative exteriorization, with each generation shallower than the last: restless, trifling, easily bored, with sparsely furnished minds, easily seduced by consumption and entertainment to fill the void within themselves — mental and spiritual cripples with nowhere else to go but into economism's clutches.

Importantly, economism's advocacy has profound psychological appeal. The argument that free trade makes people peaceable plays on most people's desire for an undisturbed life. The buoyant rhetoric of endless growth, opportunity and prosperity chimes with the American character, which is optimistic, expansive, contemptuous of limits, and forward-looking. Economism prevails partly because it tells us what most of us want to hear.

Finally, a compelling practical consideration must be stressed. Americans have made a Faustian swap of autonomy for affluence. Virtually all of us are enmeshed in, and dependent upon, a complex corporate economy. To survive in it, we must participate in it, which means living on its terms. Urbanization and our refined division of labor have made most people helpless, unable to acquire the food, goods and services they need except by buying them, mostly with money obtained by employment. Many of us depend heavily on the transfer payments of economism's welfare state. Almost nobody practices subsistence farming on his own land, and is thereby able to thumb his nose at economism. Under such circumstances, one either assigns a high priority to money and material things, or sees most of life's possibilities disappear, perhaps even goes to the wall. Americans march to economism's drummer in large part because economism's practitioners, who dominate our way of life and engineered it to suit themselves, have so arranged it as to leave most of us no choice.

"A culture that prized self-restraint and loyalty to high standards and presented heroes for emulation has been replaced by a commercially fabricated 'culture' of entertainment which does economism's work."

Economism's Lethal Errors

Yet this outlook which has gained such a terrible grip on the American mind is fatally flawed.

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Its notions of reality and human nature are reductive and false. As any awareness above the merely sensate knows, matter does not exhaust reality. Art, music, literature, philosophy, romantic love, imagination, all the play of the mind make nonsense of economic determinism and point to the existence of a spiritual reality beyond that perceptible to the senses.

It necessarily follows that people cannot be reduced to producing and consuming ciphers. We are, as Aldous Huxley observed, "multiple amphibians, living simultaneously in half a dozen radically dissimilar universes"[12] — public and private, material and spiritual, emotional and rational, sexual, and so on. Our nature is such that noneconomic things do matter, some of them far more than economics. People ruin themselves over love and sex; get caught up in causes; squander their lives over adventurers like Bonaparte; murder and make war over religion or ethnic hatred. Rational pleasure-pain calculators governed by economic incentives don't act like that. So much for the shallow myth of Economic Man.

It follows that the only accurate perspective on life and policy is a comprehensive one. Any reductive approach is bound to be wrong, perhaps disastrously so.

One might retort that economism is a vulgar reduction of economics, which allows for noneconomic phenomena and priorities. Indeed; but the version of a theory that matters is the one that affects events in the real world, where academic nuances have a way of getting ignored. And even academic economics makes precious little room for the noneconomic.

In a letter to Cobden, Lord Palmerston, the most realistic and tough-minded of Victorian British statesman, nailed the unrealism of economism's presuppositions about human nature:

> *It would be very delightful if your Utopia could be realized, and if the nations of the world would think of nothing but peace and commerce, and would give up quarrelling and fighting altogether. But unfortunately man is a fighting and quarrelling animal; and that this is human nature is proved by the fact that republics, where the masses govern, are far more quarrelsome, and more addicted to fighting, than monarchies, which are governed by comparatively few persons.*[13]

Can any honest person doubt that Palmerston was right? Squeeze the pages of history, and blood runs out. Governments never, *pace* the old antiwar poster, "gave a war and nobody came."

Moreover, economism's premises vitiate its promise of peaceableness. Economism assumes that human beings are self-interested, appetite-driven, pleasure seeking and competitive — yet argues that competitive striving to gratify insatiable appetites will transmogrify them into peaceable consumers. As if that staggering *non sequitur* were not enough, consider this: If economics is all-important, then striving to acquire resources will be intense. Resources are scarce, many non-renewable; and two parties cannot consume the same unit of a resource. It must follow that this striving will generate conflict, not harmony. Economism's flippant shills have forgotten the Anglo-French wars over the Ohio River valley's furs and the Caribbean sugar islands; the cattle wars of the Old West; the "scramble for Africa" which intensified animosities between European nations and helped cause World War I; the gold rush that brought on the Boer War; and the need for living space and resources that prompted Japanese aggression against China and European colonial empires in Asia.

Economism's presumed harmony of interests does not always obtain. Sale of strategic technology to hostile countries is a gain for the businessmen involved, but a loss for their countrymen, who are now at greater risk from the hostiles. Free trade makes cheaper imports available, but threatens workers and businesses in import-sensitive industries, our footwear industry for example. Immigration has clearly harmed many segments of our labor force. As for introduction of labor-saving technology, which is supposedly self-evidently good, classical economist David Ricardo had the honesty to acknowledge that under some circumstances, it "will be injurious to the labouring classes, as some of their number will be thrown out of employment, and population will become redundant."[14] The experience of the last two decades, in which computers destroyed hundreds of thousands of clerical and managerial jobs and displaced many workers to poorer jobs, confirms this.[15]

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Having got the nature of man and reality wrong, economism unsurprisingly has its priorities wrong. As embodied souls, with both spiritual and biological natures, our most important priorities are the proper ordering and salvation of our souls, and the propagation of our species — put another way, life and love. They find apt expression and fulfillment in marriage and the formation and rearing of a family. The family, with its mutual love and mutual obligations, is society's foundation and microcosm. Society's true priority, then, is to provide a safe, wholesome environment favorable to forming and supporting families. The bedrock purpose of economic activity is to support human survival and reproduction. Moreover, human survival requires the perpetuation of civilization, which is grounded in the formation of civilized human beings through rearing and soulcraft, and ordinarily the mother is the person best suited for this, especially in the child's early years. Consumption and appetite gratification are hopelessly beside the point.

"Indeed, economism's fanatical pursuit of its goals is making it increasingly difficult for all but a few highly-placed persons to form stable, flourishing families."

It follows from all this that the best economic system is one which provides widespread opportunity for men to support families, enabling mothers to stay home, rear the children, supervise their activities, and see to their soulcraft. An organic, humane-scale, decentralized economy along the lines envisioned by the Southern Agrarians, Wendell Berry, Wilhelm Roepke and the Catholic Distributists, with broad distribution of private ownership of the means of production, multitudes of family farms and small businesses, is admirably suited for this purpose. True, few would get fantastically rich or pursue gluttonous lifestyles this way — but just about everybody could form a family and support it decently, and nobody would be the helpless dependent of either corporations or the welfare state.

Such an economy is in stark contrast to the corporate economy we have now, engineered by economism to serve not life and love but greed, gluttony and self-assertion, and therefore driven to maximize profits and efficiency and hang the consequences to the social fabric or even the population's ability to reproduce. Indeed, economism's fanatical pursuit of its goals is making it increasingly difficult for all but a few highly-placed persons to form stable, flourishing families. "Prussia," Mirabeau quipped, "is not a country that has an army; it is an army that has a country."[16] America, likewise, is not a country that has an economy, but an economy that has a country — run for the benefit of those who control the economy, who do not seem to care what happens to the country or posterity.

All this is lost on economism's purblind devotees, because they think like economists: abstracting from messy, flesh-and-blood realities; ignorant of history; confusing their reductive models with all of reality; engrossed in economic variables and ignoring the long-term noneconomic ramifications of economic acts. Economism is therefore a disastrous guide to understanding reality and shaping policy. Fixated on economic phenomena, economism's devotees such as *Wall Street Journal* editor Robert Bartley brush off anxiety about American decline and social disintegration with brags about our widespread car, TV, VCR and computer ownership and housing size.[17] In economism's lunatic funhouse mirror, social pathologies look *good.* Our high divorce rate, wrote Comerica Bank economist William Wilson, "helps demonstrate a positive trend, too: Decades ago, women didn't have the economic autonomy to leave a marriage that wasn't working. Many do today."[18] The collapse of America's farmer population, which appalls Wendell Berry, who realizes that soil conservation requires attentive, labor-intensive farming,[19] draws from David Boaz only a glib "That's good news; it means all those people can produce something else, making themselves and all the rest of us richer."[20] Economism applauds import dumping; after all, its cheap goods make American consumers

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better off, and consumption is what economic activity is all about.[21] And Linda Chavez responded to Peter Brimelow's anti-immigration warning that "race and ethnicity are destiny in American politics" with an exercise in sheer economism: trotting out statistics on the economic success and education of Asian immigrants and the labor force participation of "Hispanics" — an obtuse, reductive construal of assimilation which utterly, perhaps deliberately, missed Brimelow's point.[22]

Yet noneconomic concerns matter far more than the purported economic gains from free trade and immigration. What will it profit America to consume cheap imports and have cheap immigrant labor doing everything from trash collection to computer programming, if Americans cannot afford to start families? If fathers are unemployed, forced into lower-paying jobs or earn stagnant incomes, and mothers are driven into the labor force to make ends meet, and their unparented children drift into teenage pregnancy, drug use, crime and violence? If public schools become a multicultural, polyglot mess driven by anti-white, anti-American agendas? If our politics are Balkanized and militant "Hispanics" disrupt the Southwest to pursue *reconquista*? Affluence, efficiency and profit maximization cannot compensate for these horrors. No sane society can allow them to happen. Yet our economism-obsessed ruling groups act as if these problems do not exist, or do not matter. *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat!* — "those whom God would destroy, He first makes mad!"

America's Predicament

Our terrible predicament is that our national life is grounded squarely in allegiance to a belief system that is lethally wrongheaded and is driving America to national ruin. As long as economism's death grip on the American mind remains unchallenged and unbroken, globalization will continue to ravage America. As long as we embrace economism's ends, we are condemned to embrace its means.

We will be unable to deal with free trade or the shifting of production and jobs overseas as long as we subscribe to the idea that the object of life is pleasure through consumption and that the cheaper the consumer goods we crave so much, the better off we are.

Likewise, we will be unable to halt the immigration flood as long as we deem economic concerns more important than anything else (therefore immigration's purported economic gains outweigh America's Balkanization, the dissolution of our identity and culture, and the prospect of whites becoming a persecuted minority in their own land); regard people as economic animals who matter only in terms of economic performance (therefore it makes no difference where they come from, just so they get the job done); and seek our fulfillment in entertainment and consumption and regard drudgery as a curse (therefore immigrants are desirable because they do the dirty work we deem beneath us).

And we will be unable to check globalization so long as we permit economism's beliefs, practitioners and beneficiaries to dominate our politics.

Clearly, repudiating economism is vital for our survival. Yet economism will be terribly difficult to uproot. For one thing, as Samuel Francis shrewdly observed:

> *Ideas do have consequences, but some ideas have more consequences than others, and which consequences ensue from which ideas is settled not simply because the ideas serve human reason through their logical implications but also because some ideas serve human interests and emotions through their attachment to drives for political, economic, and social power, while other ideas do not.*[23]

Economism clearly serves the agendas of the corporations and other powerful interests which run this country, and they are not about to let it go. Corporations' profits depend squarely on expanding their market shares, which means expanding exports, and on driving down their costs, which means using cheaper imported inputs; using low-wage foreign labor as a bludgeon to beat down American labor costs; transferring production to foreign sources; and employing cheap immigrants rather than Americans.

The mainstream news and opinion media are owned by these selfsame corporations, hence generally favor globalization. Most think tanks, colleges and universities are dependent upon corporate contributions, hence are unlikely to generate any serious criticisms of globalization and economism.

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And the American people live in the house that economism built, and apparently like its amenities too much to leave it. And quitting economism's house will be hard, because it will mean uprooting a generations-old orientation to consumption and entertainment: putting curbs on our appetites, repudiating corporate-supplied affluence, cultivating our own characters and inner resources and drawing upon them, rather than possessions and commercial entertainments, for our sense of life's goodness and of our identity, significance and worth. In short, liberating ourselves from economism will require the secular equivalent of a religious conversion, and a corollary transformation of our lives. But since this will entail much short-term discomfort, in the forms of austerity, a more laborious lifestyle and self-cultivation, it will be highly traumatic for a decadent population, and perhaps impossible. True, individuals may still extract themselves from economism's clutches, *à la* Wendell Berry, but this will not improve the national prospect unless it occurs on a large scale.

The Devil pays well in the short run. But the long run is now. In our infatuation with economism, we have trapped ourselves. The drug of economism will kill us unless we give it up, but doing so will be terribly hard. Our predicament is Macbeth's:

...I am in blood
Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.

TSC

NOTES

[1] These are the standard assumptions of economic theory.

[2] Richard Cobden, "Speech in Manchester, January 15, 1846," in Richard Cobden, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by Richard Cobden, M.P.,* ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880), p.187.

[3] Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p.109.

[4] David Boaz, *Libertarianism: A Primer* (New' York: The Free Press, 1997), p.18.

[5] Lester G. Crocker, *An Age of Crisis: Man and World in Eighteenth-Century French Thought* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p. 11; and Lester G. Crocker, *Nature and Culture: Ethical Thought in the French Enlightenment* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp.398-399.

[6] The Marquis de Sade, *Juliette,* tr. Austryn Wainhouse (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968), pp.43, 49-50, 267-268, 277-278 et al.

[7] See, e.g., "The Psychology of Economic Man," in Jeremy Bentham, *Jeremy Bentham's Economic Writings,* ed. Werner Stark (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954), III:421-450; John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism,* in Mill, *Utilitarianism: with Critical Essays,* ed. Samuel Gorovitz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), pp.17-21.

[8] Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); for business embrace of Darwinism, see pp.30-32.

[9] Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), p.551.

[10] Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and its Critics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), p.519.

[11] George Garrett, "When Lorena Bobbitt Comes Bob-Bob-Bobbing Along," *Chronicles,* April 1994, p.22.

[12] Aldous Huxley, "Introduction," in Laura Archera Huxley, *You Are Not the Target* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1963), p.xi.

[13] Jasper Ridley, *Lord Palmerston* (London: Panther Books, 1972), p.791.

[14] David Ricardo, *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo,* ed. Piero Sraffa, vol. 1, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p.390.

[15] Edward Luttwak, *Turbo-capitalism: Winners and Losers in the Global Economy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999), pp.44-46, 77, 82-83.

[16] Quoted in Robert G. L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1977), p.307.

[17] Robert L. Bartley, "Is America on the Way Down? No," *Commentary,* March 1992, p.23.

[18] William T. Wilson, "Man's moral state is better than author believes," *The Detroit News,* July 23, 1997, 11A.

[19] See, e.g., Wendell Berry, *The Gift of Good Land: Further Essays Cultural and Historical* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1981), pp.114-119, 132-133.

[20] Boaz, *Libertarianism,* p.170.

[21] S.J. Cicero, "A Closer Look at 'Dumping'," in Burton J. Folsom, Jr., ed., *The Industrial Revolution and Free Trade* (Irvington, NY: Foundation for Economic Education, 1996), p.166-167.

[22] Linda Chavez, "Could today's immigrants truly transform America?" *The Detroit News,* June 7, 1995, 15A.

[23] Samuel Francis, *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), p.3.

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Immigration Policy As If People Mattered

by Joseph Daleiden

[Excerpted from Joseph L. Daleiden, *The American Dream: Can It Survive the 21st Century?* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1999) $35.95.]

Few public policies are as emotionally charged as that of immigration. While working in Washington, D.C. as a consultant to the Office of Management and the Budget, I also had responsibility for implementing an Executive Order requiring an urban and community impact analysis for any new law, agency policy, or major budget initiative. When I indicated that I believed immigration policies should be reviewed to determine their impact on America's cities I was branded by one young lawyer as a racist. For someone who was active during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and worked in support of Cesar Chavez's efforts to organize migrant farmworkers, this came as quite a shock.

In my defense I explained that Canada had virtually shut down the immigration of U.S. citizens in the 1970s to protect job opportunities for Canadians, yet no one claimed that their policy was racially motivated or unfair. "That's different," was the retort, "they were only excluding whites." This person also had no complaint against Mexico's strict prohibition of immigration from Guatemala, I guess because Hispanics can't be construed as racists for prohibiting immigration of other Hispanics.

Those with an ounce of common sense will realize that it is not racist to try to improve job opportunities for America's own poor. There are better ways to help the poor of other nations than by permitting unsustainable rates of immigration. Japan demonstrates a more pragmatic practice with regard to immigration which is, at the same time, more just. Instead of permitting immigration, which would not be feasible in a country as small as Japan, they export jobs by investing abroad. This not only benefits the Japanese culture and economy but has the advantage of improving the lives of other societies while avoiding the necessity of indigenous populations leaving their families and societies to migrate to Japan.

Investing in industries abroad and lowering trade barriers also allows poor nations to increase their exports to the United States while at the same time allowing U.S. citizens to buy more goods at lower prices. The problem is that lowering trade barriers too quickly also threatens the jobs of employees in the U.S. industries that are affected by the lower cost of imports.

The best and least costly action the United States can take to aid the world's poor would be to provide family planning assistance to help reduce their population growth. A $10 billion dollar investment toward international family planning would go far in providing the contraception necessary so women of the LDCs can control their birth rates. It is tragically irresponsible, therefore, when the Republican party caves in to the religious right and continues to oppose aid to the United Nation's international family planning programs.

The *Wall Street Journal* is not concerned about American wages or jobs, only about maximizing return on investments. It is not surprising, therefore, that the paper recommends that the United States adopt a constitutional amendment to eliminate our borders. An unlimited supply of cheap labor is the dream of many business people. But let's see how it works out for labor. At present there are about 1.3

Joseph P. Daleiden *is executive director of the Midwest Council to Reform Immigration (MCRI), 2859 Central Street, #154, Evanston, IL 60201, phone/fax (847) 733-1875, e-mail: JLDaleiden@aol.com. A lecturer and author, he is a previous contributor to* The Social Contract.

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billion people in the world,-who earn less than $0.13 an hour; another 1.6 billion earn between $0.13 and $0.37 an hour.[1] At the other end of the spectrum, the average wage in the private economy for Americans was $12.26 an hour in 1997.[2] What would happen if we scrapped the borders? America would be flooded by immigrants until the average wage differential between the less-developed countries and the United States would reach an equilibrium level - an average of perhaps $2.00 an hour. In short, open borders would result in the population of America increasing several fold with a commensurate devastation of our environment and the impoverishment of the American laborer.

"Today an open border policy is a prescription for disaster."

There is no doubt an inexorable long term trend to a global economy, but it is a *non sequitur* to assume that this must be accompanied by eliminating borders. Every city in America is part of our national economy, yet cities have enacted zoning legislation to determine the density, and to some extent the living conditions, of the population they will house. In a sense, borders are a way for a nation to control its density and living conditions.

Someday, when there is greater economic equality among nations, an open policy of migration might be feasible, but that day is a long way off. Today an open border policy is a prescription for disaster. The United States is the only nation in the world that doesn't appear to recognize that fact. We continue to take in more immigrants than the other nations combined.[3] Our policy cannot be justified in terms of either economics or justice.

Charges of xenophobia or racism are a smoke screen to hide the lack of substantive arguments against controlling immigration. The proponents of today's immigration policies often like to truncate the debate by charging that any one who seeks to implement sustainable immigration policies is a racist or xenophobe. Name calling is often an effective ploy to stifle discussion in the absence of logic and facts.

Let's put the demands of the immigration lobbies in perspective. Suppose I decide I'm fed up with America and want to emigrate to France. Although they are under no obligation to do so, suppose the French people generously agree to let me immigrate and offer me the opportunity of becoming a citizen. Rather than being grateful, a few weeks later I go to the appropriate ministries and present a list of my demands:

- I want the right to put my wife, parents, children (both underage and adults), brothers, and sisters all at the head of the list of future applicants.
- I object to the French requirement that I be able to show that I have the means to support these relatives.
- I want my children educated in French schools at taxpayers expense and I insist that they have special English-speaking teachers and courses in English for an unlimited transition period while they learn to speak French.
- I want the French people to pick up any emergency medical costs, such as my wife having a baby.
- I demand that I and my American relatives be given priority in job hiring over French people, because as a former American I am part of a minority group in France.
- I want the relatives I bring over to be eligible for welfare if they can't find jobs, and my parents to be eligible for social security benefits. (These two last requirements are denied and I grumble that it is typical of the mean-spirited French people.)

It's time for the majority of Americans to say "enough" to the absurd charges of xenophobia leveled at the most generous nation in the world and take control of our nation's future. TSC

NOTES

[1] E. O. Wilson, *Consilience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), p.282.

[2] *Economic Report of the President Transmitted to Congress, February, 1998*, table B-47, p.336.

[3] Garrett Hardin, "There Is No Global Population Problem," *The Humanist*, (July/August 1989). See also, Don Feder, "Grandad and the New Tribe," *The Social Contract*, (Summer 1993), p.287.

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Misogynist Cultures Threaten Women's Rights

by Brenda Walker

Why is it never mentioned in immigration debates that women's rights are endangered by the demographic mix now entering the country? Do Americans blithely assume that millions of foreigners steeped in misogynist cultures will be magically transformed into egalitarian citizens when they arrive on our shores? Or have the soapbox multiculturalists so dominated the discussion that the wonderfulness of all cultures is accepted without question?

Traditional societies so extolled by multiculturalists are not wonderful places for women. Consider a few examples. Sex-selective abortion and infanticide are widespread in places like India and China. The People's Republic has 120 males for every 100 females, a gap that is increasing. Such practices have made tens of millions of women and girls "missing" in China. One region in India has 10 boys for every six girls. The form of child abuse and torture known as female genital mutilation (FGM) has afflicted 130 million women in around 40 countries. According to Amnesty International, hundreds of Pakistani women are murdered every year by male relatives for slights against the family reputation, such as choosing one's own husband or initiating divorce. Similar instances of "honor killings" happen throughout the Moslem world. In Afghanistan, the Taliban has instituted total gender apartheid, in which women are prohibited from having employment, leaving their homes without a male relative as a chaperone or receiving any education. The smallest disobedience can result in beatings or death.

The emphasis on "diversity" in immigration policy has brought many of these horrors to America. The Centers for Disease Control reported that in 1990 there were an estimated 168,000 girls and women living in the United States with or at risk for female genital mutilation. The federal government and 10 states have criminalized the practice. Gov. Pete Wilson signed a bill in 1996 outlawing FGM in California after the legislature became aware of the practice among immigrants. It is appalling that such laws are necessary in the United States of America.

The majority of current and likely future immigrants come from countries where the rights of women are few or nonexistent. American women should question how safe their recently won political and reproductive rights will be with millions of misogynist men added to our society. Most non-European cultures still regard women as inferior, yet we are urged to embrace this anti-woman ideology — multiculturalism — as better than our own. Exactly where are these marvelous egalitarian societies that we should emulate?

Multicultural Myths; Women's Reality

The proponents of multiculturalism present an idealized picture of the human community, of rainbow-hued ethnic peoples joining hands around a cheerful planet. But this confabulation is at odds with the reality of women's lives in most of the Third World. It certainly does not approximate women's experience in Afghanistan and other fundamentalist Islamic states. In Afghanistan, women are regarded as little more than animals.

Multiculturalism should be recognized as containing a hidden agenda — male supremacy wrapped in a package of political correctness.

American women should be suspicious when someone tries to convince them of the evil nature of the United States in comparison to some mythical egalitarian Avalon. Though far from perfect, the modern U.S. still offers enormously more autonomy for women than the traditional cultures we are

***Brenda Walker** is a freelance writer living in the San Francisco Bay area.*

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pressured to embrace. If in doubt, women should ponder the wisdom of a solo vacation to Egypt, Iran or Mexico. Closer to home, how comfortable is a stroll near the local day-labor hang-out?

It is not unusual to find "immigrant rights" in direct opposition to women's rights — with women often getting the shaft. *The Nation* reported (10/4/99) that the American Civil Liberties Union announced that it would oppose laws against polygamy, which the ACLU regards as a constitutionally protected arrangement. Despite the ACLU's preference for the gender neutral term "plural marriage," polygamy remains an abusive practice for women, both in Mormon Utah (where it persists) and in Third World cultures. If polygamy is just an ethnic custom with no gender bias, why are there no cultures where a woman may choose multiple husbands?

"So-called "immigrants' rights" groups aim to create a body of legal precedent distinct from American jurisprudence. Separate and unequal, such a legal philosophy would continue male privilege as a cultural right at the cost of women's equality."

Certainly women's rights are being addressed worldwide as never before, but the ball and chain of millennia of male privilege will not be fundamentally changed any time soon. So-called "honor killings" persist in Jordan despite a government campaign against the practice. These murders are instances where the slightest suggestion of sexual misbehavior results in the death of the accused woman or girl by the hand of a male family member. Kuwait still does not allow women to vote, though since the Persian Gulf war the media have erroneously predicted the approach of suffrage.

Why then would American women choose to import cultures with such misogynist practices in the name of "diversity?" Like male Americans, they were not asked. The Immigration Act of 1965 was supposedly designed to remove obnoxious racial restrictions from earlier legislation. In fact, it exceeded that mandate and instead opened the door to cultures that support customs that Americans would judge criminal. Immigrants are entering in from countries like Sudan (home to slavery and genital mutilation), Laos (where arranged marriage for girls as young as 12 is normal) and China (in which there is widespread infanticide). Yet diversity proponents insist that all cultures are equally worthy. Perhaps for men.

Multiculturalism's Legal Strategy

Multiculturalist lawyers have pursued a "group rights" legal agenda which put women's rights at severe disadvantage. The groups in question are the ethnic immigrant enclaves which increasingly insist upon the autonomy of their cultures. This demand extends to the point of denying that U.S. law applies to them, particularly when it encroaches upon perceived male prerogatives of violence against women. Murdering one's wife is a cultural right, according to this view.

Sexism is alive and well in most of these cultures which are represented as superior to modern America. Indeed, male supremacy is often a core principle in traditional societies. It is generally agreed that one of the biggest strains on new immigrant families is the freedom available for women and girls. One reads about male-on-female violence among immigrants in the press, usually called "family tragedies" — a description that disguises more than it reveals. Many of these episodes follow the same pattern: Family from a traditional culture immigrates to America. Wife or daughter begins living a more liberated life. Threatened male injures or murders the offending female. And the man may get off with lessened punishment by using cultural rights as a defense in court.

In an all-too-familiar story, the *Los Angeles Times* (12/10/98) described how an Iranian immigrant shot his wife in the head for leaving the house against his wishes. He was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon rather than attempted murder after a defense that focused on how wives in Iran are expected to be obedient.

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So-called "immigrants' rights" groups aim to create a body of legal precedent distinct from American jurisprudence. Separate and unequal, such a legal philosophy would continue male privilege as a cultural right at the cost of women's equality. Each use of the "culture defense" in a case of violence against women is a blow against women's rights and safety.

Consider Mormonism in Utah as an example of the intractability of some cultural practices. Polygamy was supposedly ended as a prerequisite for statehood. However, news stories demonstrate the continued existence of the custom and how it creates conditions of violence and servitude for women. Cultural practices often survive in spite of laws if the community is large and distinct enough.

"...multiculturalism offers nothing for women but more oppression..."

The Vatican's Misogynist Policy

A serious threat to women's well being around the world is the Vatican. (It is that powerful political institution being criticized here, not individual American Catholics.) Many centuries of being the government of western Europe have left the Papacy with little regard for the puny sovereignty of mere nations. It wields influence over even non-Catholics through a combination of vestigial spiritual authority and hardball power politics. It particularly harms the lives of women worldwide by continually blocking voluntary family planning programs for overpopulated Third World countries plagued by grinding poverty. At the same time, the Vatican calls for open borders everywhere (except the ones around Vatican City), saying that the rights of the poor to immigrate supersede national sovereignty and law.

It should be noted that the Vatican and its American hierarchy regard mass immigration to the U.S. as very advantageous for them, since a large number of the immigrants are Latin American Catholics. Many have minimal education and maximum sized families — ideal for an obedient and growing congregation. (One wonders when changing demographics will lead to a majority-Catholic America.)

The Catholic hierarchy already has flexed its financial muscle on the healthcare front, as reported in *The Nation* (1/25/99). The current spate of hospital mergers has seen formerly community institutions joined together with Catholic hospitals. When Catholic rules prevail in such cases, then some or all reproductive healthcare gets axed even though these hospitals may be subsidized by tax money. Contraception may be totally unavailable, even to rape victims. The nonprofit Catholics for Reproductive Choice found that about half of the Catholic/secular hospital mergers in the last eight years (around 100) resulted in the partial or total loss of reproductive medicine.

A Struggle Just to Maintain Current Rights?

A healthcare insurance sales representative entered a clothing store in Los Angeles and extended her business card in greeting to the owner. The Middle Easterner responded by screaming, "Get out" and concluded by spitting on her shoes.

A writer sought to seal a roofing deal by stretching out her hand in the traditional American fashion. However, the intended Arab recipient refused, saying, "It is against my religion to shake your hand." (Islam allowed him to accept her money, however.)

Why should American women have to put up with behavior like this in their own country? American men do not receive such disrespect. As the U.S. becomes a more diverse place, it becomes more hostile to women. Why isn't this loss of ground considered a problem?

Another danger is possible alliances between patriarchal religious groups that wish to subvert women's rights. The urge to keep women subservient is a major agenda item for many fundamentalists, from Iranian clerics to Southern Baptists (remember the "submission" flap several years back). Women's liberation has hardly begun in most places on earth and is certainly not set in stone in our own society, where male backlash continues, ranging from violence and harassment to small insults. What happens if male supremacist cultural groups form political coalitions to return women to second-class status — what rights

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will be safe? In addition, the construction of a separate body of law for cultural groups may eventually seep into the legal framework as a whole, with dangerous consequences for women.

If multiculturalism simply urged a more open-minded examination of human society, that would be beneficial. Indeed, it might make some Americans see our own mixed history in a new and more balanced light. But multiculturalism offers nothing for women but more oppression, even as its mouthpieces assert moral superiority compared to our imperfect culture.

As feminist writer Katha Pollitt has remarked, "In its demand for equality for women, feminism sets itself in opposition to virtually every culture on earth. You could say that multiculturalism demands respect for all cultural traditions, while feminism respects only traditions that indeed deserve respect."

The question must be asked: Why import this problem through policies of mass immigration? Isn't homegrown sexism bad enough? American women who care about hard-won freedoms should consider the future under our present course. TSC

Is the AFL-CIO Kicking Itself in the Teeth Again?

Labor is abandoning its role as protector of jobs

by Miles D. Wolpin

John Sweeney' s election as President of the AFL-CIO hierarchy nearly five years ago was supposed to bring new life to a labor "movement" in decline. This is epitomized by added federation resources to stimulate organizing by affiliates as it is by the AFL-CIO's salience in the recent Seattle protest against World Trade Organization policies.

But there is another side to the picture. The federation's autumn decision to aid Gore's faltering campaign by endorsing him was, in the view of UAW and Teamsters' leaders, "premature." Not only does he appear to be weaker than his Democratic rival Bradley, but delay would have facilitated greater bargaining leverage visa a vis these candidates. Thus the AFL-CIO's endorsement could have been conditioned upon more concrete job protection commitments for union members threatened by free trade imports from low wage countries.

Even worse, the AFL-CIO seems to be moving from unbenign neglect of approximately four million illegal aliens who for the most part compete with Americans for unskilled jobs, to an open embrace. At its October Los Angeles convention, the SEIU, UNITE, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, UFW and Teamster affiliates backed a Los Angeles Labor Federation resolution that would strengthen the magnet for illegals to further swamp our labor markets.

This included a sweeping amnesty for millions who often boast of defying American law. The resolution also called for an end to employer sanctions for hiring — and often favoring — migrants. Why? Because they — regardless of legal status — frequently undercut American workers by accepting inferior working conditions and pay. Finally, the resolution would also promote open borders by calling for a reallocation of INS staff from enforcement to expedite visa and status adjustment processing.

Pushed at the convention by vehement ethnic militants, culturally radical staff and other union

***Miles D. Wolpin, Ph.D.,**. has been an AFL-CIO affiliate (AFT) member for 28 years. A professor of Political Science at the State University of New York (Potsdam 13676), he has published numerous articles and six books.*

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officials, the rationale for the new policy was that it would facilitate organization of aliens.

The aforementioned unions have already organized thousands of illegals and adopted the role of seeking to prevent INS enforcement of our immigration laws in the name of "immigrant rights." Thus the resolution — tabled until February because some labor leaders objected that it was "not in the interests of their members" — marks a new posture only for the AFL-CIO, but not for some of its major affiliates.

"Among the short-term costs will be alienation of American trade unionists (and even many legal immigrants) who perceive that their 'leaders' are getting in bed with management."

Opposition within the federation to a major departure from its historical protectionist role for the economic opportunities and security of American workers was based upon a perception of likely costs. These in turn could further weaken a labor movement which continues to represent an ever smaller percentage of workers in the private sector. In 1998, for example, union density declined to 9.5 percent from 9.8 percent a year earlier.

Among the short-term costs will be alienation of American trade unionists (and even many legal immigrants) who perceive that their "leaders" are getting in bed with management. Employers were the key opposing special interest when the AFL-CIO successfully lobbied for employer sanctions in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. Nevertheless at that time Congress acceded to employer and militant ethnic demands for a one-time amnesty. The latter resulted in almost three million illegal aliens becoming eligible for citizenship. Since the 1960s — as frequently before employers have fiercely opposed restrictive immigration reforms that would tighten labor markets.

They have also ubiquitously violated — often with impunity — labor laws. Trade unions have complained bitterly of this. Yet by organizing, protecting and seeking amnesty for illegals, labor is vitiating its own appeals to the rule of law vis a vis employers. Similarly its intimacy with the scandal-ridden Clinton Administration which has failed to enforce or faithfully implement existing immigration laws, further reinforces perceptions by American workers of a legal double standard. Again constituent alienation is exacerbated!

Beyond these short-term costs, by gratuitously flooding the labor market and increasing competition for proliferating "bad jobs," Labor will make organizing more rather than less difficult in the unskilled sector where unemployment is double the national average. The same holds with a vengeance for real contractual gains via bargaining leverage. Precisely why most employers favor open borders!

Other long-term costs include intensified resentment by American workers who are frequently discriminated against in favor of Third World migrants. This affects not only whites, but ironically Afro-Americans even more so in skilled as well as unskilled sectors. Already, according to an August Zogby poll, middle age workers are far less supportive of unions than youths with little work experience.

Not only is citizenship being further denuded of its obligatory dimension, but the naked disrespect for our laws in a context of ethnic as well as racial group preferences by unions and employers are likely to reinforce ascriptive polarization of our society. Already characterized by the quasi-violent politics of group extortion, it seems only a matter of time before America becomes genuinely ungovernable short of Balkanization. TSC

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Strength in Diversity? Not!

by Don Feder

OF THE MANY MYTHS of liberalism, perhaps the most improbable is the notion that diversity makes us stronger.

Last week, New York City's planning department released a report on patterns of immigration to the Big Apple. From 1990 to 1996, roughly 113,000 immigrants settled there each year, the overwhelming majority from the Third World.

The report positively glowed about the supposed benefits of this influx. Many city neighborhoods have become delightfully polyglot. Why, in a single block, the products of dozens of different countries are sold.

True, there has been somewhat of a strain on the city's schools, which have had to accommodate students from 196 different countries. Those in bilingual education cost twice the average to educate.

And, along with polyglot products, New Yorkers have imported crime and poverty. The city's foreign-born represent 28 percent of its population, but comprise half of those on welfare.

As immigrants arrived, the native-born fled. New York's non-Hispanic white population has plummeted from 63 percent in 1970 to 35 percent today. Due to immigration, nationally, whites will constitute a minority by 2050.

In the city, the fastest-growing immigrant groups are from Ghana, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Egypt. These countries are all impoverished (Bangladesh's per capita Gross Domestic Product is $1260), backward (Egypt has a 49 percent illiteracy rate) and far removed from our culture.

While Mayor Rudy Giuliani's administration celebrates diversity, ordinary Americans aren't putting on party hats. The November 8 *Miami Herald* reports on a poll showing: "Floridians are not in a welcoming mood when it comes to new immigrants. They favor strongly reducing legal immigration to the United States."

Hispanics are the only group that doesn't, and then by only 51 percent (40 percent favor cutbacks). The *Herald* quotes a Cuban immigrant who warns that America is "like a ship that can take on only so many passengers before sinking."

Many of us understand what the elite does not: that due to unrestrained immigration and multiculturalism, America is losing its identity.

Although New York's report alludes to Ellis Island, today's immigrants are another story. The Irish, Italian and Jewish immigrants of yesterday all came from countries connected to Western culture.

"Today, an elite which is guilty about America's past and unsure of the value of our culture tells [new arrivals]: don't assimilate."

On arrival, they were told in no uncertain terms what was expected of them — to assimilate by adopting our language, learning our history and identifying with American values.

Today, an elite which is guilty about America's past and unsure of the value of our culture tells them: don't assimilate. Why learn English? Why should you want to identify with a nation founded by white males with guns? Don't even become a hyphenated American; remain a *whatever* who happens to reside here.

Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, observes that as far as liberals are concerned there's "virtually

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__Don Feder__ is a nationally-syndicated columnist. This item is © 1999 by Creators Syndicate and is reprinted by permission.

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nothing" for today's immigrants to attach themselves to "other than rampant consumerism" and a "vague concept of diversity."

Has a country ever grown stronger through disunity? Our differences may make us interesting; they do not unite us. What happens when a growing portion of the population feels no allegiance to our national ideals, disdains our heroes and clings to its separateness?

In the past, we could absorb and ultimately Americanize millions of immigrants because of our shared identity. Today, that common ground is fast eroding.

Last week, the Pope was in India pleading with its inhabitants not to murder Christians. In the past two years, there have been more than 150 reported incidents of murder, rape, beatings and church desecration.

India is deliriously diverse. There are Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and Christians, castes and sub-groups. For hundreds of years they've all been at each others' throats. For most of its existence, India was held together only by the bloody swords of the rajahs or British lances. Is this the America under construction for our children and grandchildren?

You can bet the authors of the New York report don't live in diverse neighborhoods, send their children to diverse schools or experience the joys of immigrant culture by strolling the streets of Washington Heights, with its Jamaican gangs, 'round midnight.

The elite celebrates diversity; others have to live with it. TSC

Japan's Future Brightened by Demographic Decline

by B. Meredith Burke

Who faces the brightest quality-of-life prospects for the year 2100: Japan with a population projected to decline by nearly 60 percent, or the United States, whose present population will soar past three-quarters of a billion under current policies?

American news media almost gloatingly report the soft and restructuring Japanese labor market even as our own sets employment records. Japan's recorded unemployment rate is approaching a post-World War II record of 5 percent. A million laid-off workers are still unemployed while millions more have entered the uncertain world of temporary or part-time employment. Only a third of last year's college graduates are full-time employed.

Its salvation lies in a reality rued by demographically unschooled journalists and male politicians: Japan's post-war roller-coaster in births. The small numbers born during 1930-45 yielded to two postwar birth peaks — 2.7 million in 1947 and 2.1 million in 1975 — and two birth valleys — 1.5 million in 1955 and 1.2-1.3 million in the 1990s. Those of traditional working age will soon shrink in numbers. Meanwhile, life expectancy gains for adults mean they can expect to live 20 years beyond age 60, the normal retirement age.

Years of high fertility followed by many years of low fertility will result in more than 20 percent of the population in 2010 being age 65 or above, compared with a projected 13 percent for the United States. Retirees will soon outnumber new labor entrants. Unless fertility or immigration shoot up, it may then drop to as few as 50-55 million by the year 2100. Regaining the country's 1920 level of population will ultimately deliver Japan from an ecological dilemma.

B. Meredith Burke, Ph.D., is an expert on Japanese labor force patterns, and has consulted on population issues for the World Bank and other donor agencies.

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Sustaining its peak population, let alone a growing one, would wreak havoc. Pension specialists overlook both the expenses a baby boom imposes and the gains of a baby bust in industrial society. Baby booms require heightened investments first in schools, then in job creation, and in housing and infrastructure expansion. A baby bust sharply and swiftly reduces the youth-dependency burden, enabling parents and society to invest in more per child while freeing up resources for other uses, including old-age supports.

University of British Columbia regional planner William Rees and his associate Mathis Wackernagel, now with the think tank "Redefining Progress," originated the concept of an "ecological footprint." This is the land-equivalent required to generate the renewable resources a country consumes and recycle its wastes. With one-quarter hectare of productive land per capita, Japan has an "ecological footprint" conservatively estimated as at least two hectares. Its consumption exceeds production eightfold. Despite intensive agriculture, Japan is the nation most dependent upon food imports. Since 1970, its dependency upon imported cereals has risen from 55 to 75 percent while its population has grown 20 percent.

With a population of 55 million, Japan could shrink its ecological footprint, aim for food self-sufficiency and reduce its food bill.

Huge post-1950 increases in Japan's urban population resulted in housing notoriously inferior to that of other industrial nations. The Japanese themselves applied the expression "rabbit warrens" to their expensive, tiny, high-rise apartments located hours out of town. This situation will flip-flop. Succeeding generations will enjoy rosier housing prospects in both quality and affordability.

Women, especially married women, currently confront employment discrimination and the full burden of household responsibilities. Young women in a society with a dearth of labor force entrants will gain bargaining chips vis-a-vis both potential employers and potential husbands. Young couples will gain the power to renegotiate the present work "day" that shortchanges home, spouse and family. Japan's fertility should then rebound to the replacement level.

In the U.S., births to immigrant women have offset the beneficial effects of the birth dearth to baby boomers. The former boosted 1990s' births by 25 percent, frightening for a country that ecologists say has exceeded its maximum carrying-capacity population of 150 million since 1950.

Scientists and large majorities of Americans surveyed want population growth stopped. Yet, our growth-vested politicians confront with equanimity a year 2050 population of a half-billion! On this path, the U.S. will lose food self-sufficiency by the year 2040, according to Cornell University ecologists David and Marcia Pimentel. Global warming is only one of several looming ecological disasters.

With population reduction inevitable in the next century, Japan has a bright future. By the year 2100, Americans will apply the words "bright and shining" to their past, not their present — and certainly not their future. TSC

Don't Expect High School Graduates to Speak English

A high school diploma from an American public school should be proof that the graduate speaks English, right? Not if the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) gets its way. Attorneys for MALDEF are suing the state of Texas, arguing that the state graduation exam has a "disparate impact" on minority students and that they should not be required to take it.

If MALDEF is successful, this ruling could endanger all standardized tests in Texas and in other states as well. Rosalie Porter, a Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO) board member and national expert on bilingual education, is testifying as an expert witness for the state of Texas against MALDEF's position. Dr. Porter and Jorge Amselle also spoke last month at the National Press Club regarding bilingual education and recent legislation in Congress.

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The Lethal Gene

Book Review by Michael W. Masters

Perhaps no trait so uniquely characterizes Western peoples as that of altruism. We are, among the genuinely "diverse" peoples of the world, the most prone to feel compassion for those less fortunate and to act on those feelings. We provide food, medicine, disaster relief, education and even peacekeeping to all who ask — often to the detriment of our own kind. So relentlessly altruistic are we that Charles Dickens, in his book, *Bleak House,* coined the term "telescopic philanthropy" in parody of our propensity to coddle those who inhabit distant shores. Dickens' archetypical do-gooder, Mrs. Jellyby, impatiently dismissed her own injured son in her frenzy to cater to the imagined needs of "the natives of Borrioboola-Gha on the left bank of the Niger."

From the pulpits of Christianity to the drawing rooms of secular humanism, the simultaneously piteous and self-righteous plea for accommodation of all humanity — and with it a suspiciously insistent demand for sacrifice on the part of the altruists so importuned — never ceases. This raises the question: can anything so widely accepted be wrong? Or, to borrow a concept from Garret Hardin — who has written more persuasively on the subject of altruism that any other scientist — are there "unintended consequences" that accompany an altruism that compels universal fealty? It turns out that there are, and those consequences are the subject of Professor Hardin's most recent book, *Creative Altruism,* a rewrite of a 1977 work, *The Limits of Altruism.*

In addition to Mrs. Jellyby's delicate condition, *Creative Altruism* examines many subjects of vital importance in a finite world — among them carrying capacity, population control, resource depletion, the ethical foundations of political and social systems and many others. All merit careful study and reflection. But the subject of altruism, more than any other, motivates and illuminates not only these concerns but the ultimate question that dominates all others — that of survival.

Creative Altruism: An Ecologist Questions Motives

by Garrett Hardin
Petoskey, MI: Social Contract Press
188 pages, $12.95 1-800-352-4843

Altruism, Survival and the Commons

Significantly, the subtitle of Professor Hardin's earlier work was "An Ecologist's View of Survival," a phrase that spotlights the issue at stake with a remarkable economy of expression. In a world rendered increasingly inter-dependent by communication, transportation, natural resource use, environment degradation and carrying capacity concerns, survival has become a predominant issue — although less so for individuals than for historic peoples and cultures. The latter are under assault as never before, due in no small measure to efforts by political and economic elites to eradicate borders and traditional cultures as barriers to political consolidation and economic exploitation — a goal often hidden behind a pious rhetorical veneer of compulsory altruism. Dr. Hardin writes,

> *The spectre of survival now haunts ethical thought. Attempts to settle the egoism versus altruism issue, to unsnarl population problems, and to lay out the grounds on which international relations can be rationalized all end up with the word* survival —

In this climate, a healthy understanding of altruism is central to insuring the continued survival of peoples and nations — a subject that Hardin has written on for decades. He long ago secured his reputation within the scientific community with his 1968 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons." In this essay he introduced many of the ecological and ethical themes that have guided his work since. Among them:

Michael W. Masters *writes on issues of politics, moral philosophy, and sociobiology.*

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anything that is free invites exploitation (an apt description of welfare); the carrying capacity of any resource is a vital ethical consideration (a realistic justification for limiting immigration in a finite world); and voluntary acts of conscience, without regard to the actions of others, can act as agent for the elimination of conscience (universal altruism is "selected against" in the struggle for survival).

"Immigration [is] ...exploited by rapacious elites ('managers') who care nothing about the irreversible damage they cause."

"The Tragedy of the Commons" deals with the tendency of unowned resources (i.e. held in common) to be exploited to exhaustion — the world's oceans, for example. In a crowded world, only privatism provides a stable socio-political system. Socialism is also theoretically possible — but its Achilles' Heel is the fact that it "gives managers first whack at the statistics, which they can alter or suppress to hide evidence of their incompetence." Or their malfeasance. Managers under socialism bear no responsibility for their actions — and hold the power needed to insure this unhappy situation is never discovered.

Any system, natural or human, may constitute a commons. Immigration, for example, makes of the West a vast commons — to be exploited not only by the teeming billions of the Third World but also by rapacious elites ("managers") who care nothing about the irreversible damage they cause.

Genes, Kinship and Survival

Altruism does serve a positive role in fostering survival. But it has never had universal applicability, and it cannot be extended beyond the circumstances for which it was designed by "Nature and Nature's God" — to adapt Thomas Jefferson's evocative phrase. Its origin is biological and its principles are timeless — despite the shrill ranting of liberals, who seem determined to replace science with ideology. As one writer put it, liberals would "burn biologists at the stake" if they could.

The key factor is *kin altruism,* a contributor to natural selection recognized by Darwin. In this century William D. Hamilton formulated the theory in scientific terms. He observed that in the animal world the degree of altruism shown by one individual to another is directly related to the degree of kinship between them — that is to say, the extent to which they share genes. Sacrifices on behalf of one's close kin may preserve more shared genes for the future. Blood is indeed thicker than water.

The concept of survival is sometimes confusing because people often do not bother to define it. Professor Hardin describes three forms of survival: self-preservation, species survival and germ line survival — preservation of one's genes. It is certainly the case that no animal can long survive without an instinct for self-preservation — humans included. However, as seen earlier, self-sacrifice on behalf of kin is a more powerful selective force than simple self-preservation because it enables the genes shared by benefactor and beneficiary to enter succeeding generations in larger numbers.

Natural selection is often mistakenly thought to favor survival of the species. But germ line survival is in reality the most important factor in the survival of peoples and societies. In his poem, "In Memoriam," Tennyson wrote of Mother Nature, "So careful of the type she seems, so careless of the single life..." But this view inverts cause and effect. Selection favors germ lines that win the competition for life and reproduction. Competition among germ lines — a competition often bloody in its workings — defines the character of succeeding generations. Species survive only because the genes that define them survive.

Morality, Discrimination and Tribes

As important as the principle of kin altruism is, there is another contributor that provides a powerful explanation for not only why the world of humans is the way it is, but why it must remain that way if historic peoples, societies and cultures are to survive. This additional factor is closely related to kin altruism but takes into account the additional consideration that humans gather in societies rather than live as solitary,

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atomized individuals.

To understand how kin altruism, germ line survival and mankind's social nature have shaped humanity, one must examine how humans arose during prehistoric times — a time when embryonic human societies were necessarily tribal in nature. The pioneering work in this area was done by Arthur Keith, R.D. Alexander and Robert Bigelow. Hardin writes:

> *Their model is tribalistic; selection distinguishes not so much between individuals as it does between tribes. "The essential characteristic of a tribe is that it should follow a double standard of morality—one kind of behavior for in-group relations, another for out-group." The model is also a highly sanguinary one; it assumes that conflict between tribes was often resolved by the extermination of the loser.*

The tribal nature of early human societies — characterized by a high percentage of shared genes — helped forge the fundamental character of modern humans. In order for tribal groups to survive, members of the tribe had to cooperate closely with each other while repelling the depredations of other tribes. They necessarily maintained a different standard of conduct toward those within the group than toward outsiders. In short, they *discriminated* against outsiders. It is this dual code of morality that created the human race in all its "diverse" forms. Although Prof. Hardin does not emphasize the point — perhaps in deference to political correctness — little has changed. Outsiders are no different that they ever were; they are the genetically distant members of other ethnic groups.

> *Tribal fitness rests on a bipolar virtue: cooperation with tribal brothers coupled with antagonism toward all others. Altruism is selected for, but it is strictly tribal altruism. Until about ten thousand years ago hunting and gathering was the only mode of existence and tribes were small; genetic relations among the members made kin altruism an important selective factor, for the members of a small tribe would possess a considerable degree of genetic relationship.*

Tribes, Proletariats and Empires

In order to eradicate this natural order, today's empire builders turn their most powerful rhetorical weapons to the task of discrediting the efficacy of genetic factors. Those who have the courage to insist on truth rather than Orwellian doublespeak draw a firestorm of vituperation from the pitchmen of universal altruism. Defenders of nature's order endure epithets ranging from "mean-spirited," "isolationist" and "bigot" to "racist," "fascist," "Nazi" and the ultimate malediction, "hater." (We note without comment the odd fact that "Marxist" and "Bolshevik," two overwhelmingly malevolent forces behind a century of unparalleled human tragedy, seem curiously absent from the accusers' vocabulary.) But is this "hate" smear really the evil it is made out to be?

> *The total selective value of intratribal altruism was a function of the degree to which a winning tribe was willing and able to exterminate — that is, genetically exterminate — losing tribes. This tribal goal was served by the two-faced virtue of altruism and aggression, intratribal altruism coupled with intertribal aggression. The inward feelings accompanying these orientations may be what we call love and hate. We tend to think of these sentiments as being in opposition to each other, but they are merely two sides of the same coin. It is questionable whether we can have one without the other.*

In reality, the corrosive ideology of universal altruism serves the interests of three distinct groups. The first are those who lack the inherent ability to secure for themselves the blessings of civilization — a deficiency that is itself largely genetic in origin. For these, the recipients of altruism's bounty, coalition membership provides a means to exploit the commons created by Western peoples. This group's contribution is vital because there are enough of them to be politically significant when properly mobilized. The lure of free access to the treasury is irresistible to a rabble that has no prospects for betterment on the basis of its own abilities.

The second group is comprised of those genuinely compassionate people who, like Mrs. Jellyby, receive emotional fulfillment from their sincere belief in the

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dictates of philanthropy. Lenin slyly called such people "useful idiots." These useful idiots constitute a subversive fifth column inside the walls of communities of people susceptible to altruism's siren call. They undermine group loyalty and cohesion with their demands that the gates of the city be opened to all.

Finally, there is a third group that benefits from the altruism scam — economic and political elites. They are well aware that in order to obtain and hold power they must assemble a large enough base of support to suppress cultures based on group unity. Universal altruism serves this need well; it is the bait with which a revolutionary proletariat of have-nots can be created, a proletariat capable of tearing power away from peoples bound together by older, genetically-based loyalties.

Perhaps it is this third group that inspired the subtitle to Professor Hardin's latest work: "An Ecologist Questions Motives."

Passive Genocide

The contrast between the bloody nature of tribal warfare and the relatively tranquil nature of modern life should not mislead people into believing that the rules of natural selection have changed. Invasion of the homeland of one group by another group — combined with high differential birth rates and amalgamation through intermixing — are ultimately just as destructive as overt tribal massacres. Only the West permits massive immigration. And yet European-descended peoples already constitute no more than about 15 percent of the world's population. Our current birth rate of 1.7 children per woman insures that the next generation will contain only about half that percentage.

Since the various races and ethnic groups of mankind constitute distinct germ lines the disastrous consequences of Western open-borders immigration policies should be obvious. Over time, immigration will bring dispossession, submergence and, ultimately, genetic disappearance. Hardin has elsewhere called this phenomenon "passive genocide," a term that should be inserted into the political debate far more often than it is. The significance of this word has not been lost on blacks, Indians and Jews — who have, wittingly or not, exploited our compassion with admonitions concerning their own putative fears of genocide.

If we extend altruism beyond its rightful (tribal and genetic) bounds to encompass all of humanity in One World it will be our undoing. In the most supreme of ironies, its exercise will bring its own disappearance. Only we are sacrificing our culture, our homelands and our genetic future to the Moloch of multiracialism. But it is a futile gesture. When we are gone, the world will then be inhabited only by those who do not possess our flawed outlook. The endpoint is inescapable; the gene that impels universal altruism is a lethal one.

> *In the absence of competition between tribes the survival value of altruism in a crowded world is zero because what ego gives up necessarily (by definition of the rules of One World) goes into the commons. What is in the commons cannot favor survival of the sharing impulses that put it there — unless limits are placed on sharing. To place limits on sharing is to create a tribe — which means a rejection of One World. So if we desire a world in which altruism can persist we must reject the ideal of One World and consciously seek to retain a world of more or less separate, more or less antagonistic units called (most generally) tribes. ...A state of One World, if achieved, would soon redissolve into an assembly of tribes.*

The only exception to the last sentence in the above passage is a condition of One World enforced "out of the barrel of a gun," to use Mao's quaint description of the true source of political power. Tribal conflict may be minimized, but it is the peace of slavery. The current manifestation of this malevolent design is the looming abyss called the New World Order — a thoroughly Marxist venture in origin and execution. Not by accident have other Marxist regimes, all of whom spew universalist cant by the bucket, herded disparate peoples into multiethnic societies by force — as they did in Yugoslavia and the late Soviet Union, and more recently in Bosnia and Kosovo.

But then the New World Order is in reality not an exception to the law of tribes at all. It merely limits the number of tribes to two: the monied tribe and everyone else. TSC

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Globalization in Question

The world is now divided into 'fast' and 'slow'

Book Review by Ted Wheelwright

The author, an award-winning journalist with the *New York Times*, tells us that his book is an effort to explain the new era of globalization which has replaced the Cold War system. The first part shows how the system works; the second explains how nation states, communities, individuals and the environment interact with the system; the third examines the back lash against globalization; and the fourth discusses the unique role the U.S. plays in maintaining stability.

At the end of the book he thanks a whole string of academics, bankers, and public servants who helped him, including Michael Mandelbaum, Yaron Ezra, Stephen Cohen, Robert Rubin, Jacob Frenkel, Jim Wolfensohn, and his teacher Rabbi Izvi Marx. The "blurb" at the back of the book tells us that the author "traveled to the four corners of the globe, interviewing everyone from Brazilian peasants to new entrepreneurs in Indonesia, to Islamic students, to the financial wizards on Wall Street and in Silicon Valley."

The Lexus and the Olive Tree
by Thomas Friedman
London: HarperCollins and Farrar, Straus and Giroux, USA
394 pages, price $27.50

Two outside sources are stressed. *The Economist*, which the author considers to be far ahead of any other news organization in understanding globalization; and advertisements from Madison Avenue, whose copywriters, he thinks, have "tremendous insight" into the subject.

The title is unfortunate, and the author has to take several pages explaining it: "Globalization is what is new...world affairs today can only be explained as the interaction between what is new as an Internet Web site, and what is old as a gnarled olive tree on the banks of the river Jordan".(p.25) The author had just visited the Japanese Lexus luxury car factory south of Tokyo, which made 300 Lexus sedans every day, using 66 human beings and 310 robots.

Returning on the train, he read an article about people in Beirut and Jerusalem who were fighting over who owned which olive tree. He thought then that the Lexus and the olive tree were pretty good symbols of the post-Cold War era: half the world intent on building a better Lexus — streamlining and modernizing their economies in order to thrive, and the other half still caught up in the fight over who owns which tree.

Olive trees represent everything that "anchors us, identifies and locates us in the world". The Lexus represents an equally fundamental drive but "for sustenance, improvement, prosperity and modernization"; it represents all the burgeoning global markets, financial institutions and computer technologies with which we pursue higher living standards today. (p.28)

The biggest threat today to the olive tree comes from "the anonymous, transnational, homogenizing, standardizing market forces and technology that make up today's globalizing system". (p.29) The challenge of globalization is "to find a healthy balance between preserving a sense of identity, home and community, and doing what it takes to survive within the globalization system". (p.35)

Today, he tells us, there is no more a first or third world — there is just the Fast World and the Slow World. This happened because of the "democratization of technology and finance. All sorts of countries can now assemble the necessary technologies, raw materials, and funding, to be producers or sub-contractors of highly complex

***Ted Wheelwright** directs the Transnational Corporations Research Project at the School of Geosciences, University of Sydney, Australia.*

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finished products or services. This is true, but most of it is done within the precincts of branches of multinational corporations, most of which are owned and controlled by developed countries. There is very little about it which is democratic.

Similarly with what is regarded as the second major factor driving globalization the so-called democratization of finance. This began, we are told, in the late 1960s, with the emergence of a commercial paper market — bonds that corporations issue directly to the public. This removed the monopoly of banks, but things really "exploded" in the 1980s, when Michael Milken, the corrupt bond king, pioneered the junk bond or high yield industry. He securitized the international debt market through the secretary to the U.S. Treasury, Nicholas Brady. Banks were given US government guarantees to extend new loans to Latin America on condition that the countries made economic reforms.

"Countries cannot survive today, the author tells us, without plugging into the Electronic Herd and learning how to get the best out of it."

Information came to be democratized through the globalization of television; cable television could carry more channels than could be broadcast. The main driving force was the falling cost of launching satellites. Hence a huge new audience was created, which transformed financial markets as investors could buy and sell stocks from all over the world on the Internet.

In chapter 6 the intriguing concept of the "Electronic Herd" is introduced. This is said to consist of "often anonymous stock, bond, currency and multinational investors connected by screens and networks". This Herd feeds in 180 countries, but is not infallible; it makes mistakes, it overreaches, overshoots; it is "not too stupid for too long". Democracies, he tells us, vote about government policies once every two to four years, but the Electronic Herd votes "every minute of every hour every day".

Countries cannot survive today, the author tells us, without plugging into the Electronic Herd and learning how to get the best out of it. It consists of two groups; those who move money around on a short term basis, such as currency traders, whom he calls "short-horn cattle", and those who are involved in direct investment or long term deals, such as multinationals. These he calls "long-horn cattle".

Most countries maintained capital controls until the 1970s, hence governments could maintain their own monetary policy, but with the gradual lifting of capital controls a global market developed. By the end of 1997, 25 Supermarkets (multinationals) controlled 83% of the world's equities under institutional management, and accounted for about half of global market capitalization.

This Electronic Herd in these Supermarkets, we are told, are now able to shape the behavior of nation states in many areas. Its increasing power is just beginning to be understood by many traditional leaders, and many countries now depend on foreign investment for growth. The Internet came in the last stage of this "democratization of technology, finance and information", and has contributed to this new era of globalization, the author tells us, but as the Internet proliferates it will become "the turbo-charged engine that drives globalization forward". But the ability of the electronic herd to transmit instability from one country to another has greatly increased, we are told. The domino theory today belong to the world of finance, the author tells us, not politics.

He also warns of the conflicting effect globalization has on democratization:

> *The Electronic Herd and the Supermarkets are fast becoming two of the most intimidating, coercive, intrusive forces in the world today... They leave many people feeling that whatever democracy they have at home, whatever choices they think they are exercising...are all just illusions...because it is actually larger, distant face-less markets and herds that are dictating their political lives.* (p.142)

There is also a danger that globalization could wipe out the ecological and cultural diversity that took

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millions of years of human and biological evolution to produce. Hence countries need to develop strong cultural and environmental filters that will not be overwhelmed.

Globalization also expand inequalities, both within and between countries; these inequalities are becoming one of the most disturbing social products of the system, the author notes.

The author sees a backlash — increasing crime, as people grab what they need and try to create their own safety nets. In some countries the strongest backlash is coming not from the poorest, but from those in middle and lower classes, who found security in the previous "protected" system. The strength of the backlash depends on the weakness of the economy.

"Americans are said to be better at 'riding' globalization because it has a distinct American face. But outside America most people cannot distinguish between US power, US exports, US cultural assaults, US cultural exports and 'plain vanilla globalization.'"

Some are asking for the process of globalization to be slowed down, but the author feels that the process cannot be slowed down, indeed, with the rapid diffusion of the Internet, it is speeding up. So far the backlash has not achieved enough critical mass anywhere to disrupt the system; hence the author concludes that the wretched of the earth want to go to Disneyland, not the barricades!

Chapter 15, delightfully entitled "Rational Exuberance," is a eulogy for the U.S.A., where capital markets today are said to be more efficient and transparent than elsewhere. But the author considers that the country should use this golden moment to deal with its problems, such as crime ridden inner cities, lack of gun control, widening income gaps, unfunded public schools, a culture of litigation, its underfunded social security system, and a political system increasingly perverted and corrupted by lax campaign finance laws.

However, whereas the Europeans and the Japanese believe in the state exercising power over people and markets, the US believes in empowering people and free markets. This is the model that the rest of the world is being asked to emulate. Americans are said to be better at "riding" globalization because it has a distinct American face. But outside America most people cannot distinguish between U.S. power, U.S. exports, U.S. cultural assaults, U.S. cultural exports and "plain vanilla globalization."

Hence the rising resentment of the U.S. as the globalization system becomes so heavily influenced by U.S. icons, U.S. markets, and U.S. military might. This accounts for the sobriquet of America as "the capital of global arrogance."

In the remaining chapters five ways are outlined in which globalization could sow the seeds of its own destruction. First, it may be too hard for some countries to develop the right software and operating systems. Second, too much connection can be destabilizing. Third, the electronic herd promotes total transparency in financial dealings. Fourth, the system could be too unfair for too many people, and fifth, the results could be just too dehumanizing, too standardizing, and would reduce the quality of life.

The author warns that the amounts of money which can now be lent to hedge funds are so enormous, and the system is so integrated, that when big risk takers like Long Term Capital Fund Management make mistakes, *they can destabilize everyone*. The impact of the global lending crises of the late 1990s has been increasing. But the banking industry in the U.S. has one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington, and would strongly resist any curb on lending limits.

Consequently, he concludes that a restraining effect is all you can hope for: "Today's markets are so big, so diverse and...becoming so fast that they can never be made immune from crisis. *Global financial crisis will be the norm in this coming era*" (p.371, emphasis added). TSC

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The Politics of Empowerment

Book Review by Kevin Lamb

To some extent, when you've seen one city slum, you've seen them all.
— Spiro Agnew

Earlier this summer President Clinton unveiled the latest federal policy for reversing the prolonged conditions of poverty among America's underclass. While touring several poverty-stricken areas across the United States from Appalachia and urban slums to an Indian reservation Clinton spent the first week of July promoting a new business-government venture for economically depressed communities. As a federal anti-poverty scheme, this "New Market Initiative" exemplifies the idea that the "government's role is to create the conditions for success, give people the tools they need to succeed, and then, in effect, *empower* people to make the most of it."

The Politics of Empowerment
by Robert Weissberg
Westport, CT: Praeger
272 pages, price $45.00

The rationale for this new federal initiative is that corporations overlook a potential reservoir of untapped skilled labor in these impoverished areas. Fueling this latest endeavor is the idea of community *empowerment.* Embraced by egalitarians on both sides of the political spectrum, "empowerment zones" are intended to get people on the train of autonomy by greasing the tracks of opportunity; "resources" from both the federal government and private sector serve as a catalytic lubricant. Give people the incentive to take responsibility for their own well-being by providing more capital (block grants and bank loans), and impoverished communities will prosper.

As Tamar Jacoby and Fred Siegel recently point out in *The New Republic, the* goal of this public and private sector partnership, is to eventually spawn "a commercial infrastructure and incubate a local business culture" from this enterprise.[1] Hence, the right combination of financial incentives provides an opportunity to overcome previous hardships from personal irresponsibility to community neglect. Once people become "empowered" by taking more responsibility for their own affairs, then stagnant communities will become economically and socially vibrant. Is this expectation an unrealistic panacea or a successfully proven remedy for overcoming poverty?. Can individuals "empower" themselves with financial incentives to conquer pathological factors or is the concept of "empowerment" a political cliché?

In *The Politics of Empowerment,* Robert Weissberg, Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, examines the modern notion of empowerment and whether or not government-sponsored efforts to make people more self-reliable work as intended. The author conducts a FDA-like inspection of empowerment, distinguishing between the meaning of "empowerment" and the reality of governmental reforms that attempt to "empower" the impoverished by nurturing self-reliance. Weissberg dares to ask: Is this a suitable remedy for *every* community wherein social pathologies dominate? For areas that encounter persistently higher rates of pathological behavior--violent crime, infant mortality, AIDS, drug-addiction, homelessness, teen pregnancies, and out-of-wedlock births is "empowerment" a prescription for self-improvement or a recipe for further self-destruction?

Most significantly, Weissberg discovers that in contemporary parlance the term "empowerment" is

***Kevin Lamb** is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

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virtually meaningless. As he persuasively argues, it "masks a bewildering collection of conflicting ideas, plans and goals" which, if anything, symbolizes further dependency on government programs rather than self-determination. Hence, self-reliance in a technologically advanced society requires a given level of competence. Weissberg skillfully argues that advocates of empowerment fail to address the following paradox,

> *Those who need uplifting the most are, in all likelihood, the identical people possessing the least requisite capacity. If our impoverished public housing resident could unravel his or her troubled situation and act accordingly, he or she would have long since departed. It is ignorance, often coupled with an incapacity to use knowledge when adroitly provided, that accounts for difficulties in the first place. That those most in need may be incapable of utilizing expert advice is an awkward, all too often disregarded, fact. Moreover, to provide constant intrusive direction encourages dependency, not autonomy.*

This close scrutiny reveals the single greatest obstacle that confronts empowerment schemes — channeling irresponsible behavior and slothful patterns of conduct into a conscientiously productive demeanor. Most federal programs, from LBJ's "Great Society" to Clinton's welfare-to-work reforms, have simply failed to properly understand the human condition. The reason why the indigent suffer from the long-term effects of abject poverty isn't because of societal neglect (the wealthy benefitting at the expense of the poor) or bureaucratic inefficiency (maladapted government programs), but the unfortunate consequences of their own conduct.

Inculcating a work ethic requires more than financial capital as an incentive for self-enrichment, it demands what conservative economist Thomas Sowell identifies as "human capital" — personal traits and characteristics that are conducive to wealth accumulation and social well-being. The person more apt to be dependent upon charity or public welfare lacks what "empowerment" advocates cannot easily supplant responsibility and perseverance. *Ability* and *aspiration* are human characteristics essential for adapting to challenges under adverse conditions. Self-reliance demands *consistent behavioral stability.* Hence, by neglecting the underlying traits that distinguish autonomy from dependency, empowerment programs are fundamentally deficient.

Moreover, communities are by definition more than a tract of land or an urban zoning section. Government subsidies alone cannot replace the *intangible* human qualities that make for a desirable community. Corporations remain skeptical of federal subsidies and tax incentives that compensate for volatile investments in unsafe inner-city areas, especially when nearby residential dwellings are deemed uninhabitable by customers as well as prospective employees, dust how profitable is it for entrepreneurs to establish themselves in crime-ridden districts that attract little if any clientele and require elaborate security measures (high-tech equipment) in order to minimize thievery and embezzlement?

"Inculcating a work ethic requires more than financial capital as an incentive for self-enrichment, it demands what conservative economist Thomas Sowell identifies as 'human capital' — personal traits and characteristics that are conducive to wealth accumulation and social well-being."

Another problem with empowerment is that it is all too often oversold. In the minds of some, wealth and prosperity will naturally follow the transition from dependency to self-sufficiency with little or no effort. Like hitting all the right tumblers on a combination lock, once individuals achieve "empowerment" wealth and status will fall right into place. It is the equivalent of expecting something for nothing or staking your future on the Powerball lottery. Notions of effort or ingenuity, not to mention good fortune, are missing

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elements that require the continuation of empowerment programs.

It goes without saying that placing more personal responsibility on the indigent may foster the original set of conditions that called for public assistance. Leaving some to rely upon their own merits for earning a stable living is like extending a line of credit to a spendthrift. Likewise, expecting a beggar to invest his daily income from panhandling, rather than feed a drug or alcohol addiction, is simply unrealistic. Empowerment requires self-initiative; being able to forfeit present desires for a deferred future good *given the circumstances of one's present situation.* Like pouring kerosene on an open fire, the impact of some anti-poverty programs is often counter-productive.

"Skeptics are likely to find Weissberg's assessment of empowerment unduly pessimistic."

Perhaps the single greatest obstacle to empowerment remains unreasonable expectations. Here, Weissberg raises what heretofore has been neglected with regard to empowerment — the relationship between ineptitude and dependency. Profitable enterprises depend upon the efficient use of labor. Skill-level reflects ability; the single greatest challenge facing the private sector is utilizing successfully the available pool of labor-market talent. As Walter Van Dyke Bingham once put it,

> *A person's aptitude for a skilled trade is in part a matter of his interests and preferences; in part, of his facility in acquiring manual expertness in the kinds of skills required; and in part also, of his abilities in acquiring knowledge and exercising good sense in the decisions he makes.*[2]

Skeptics are likely to find Weissberg's assessment of empowerment unduly pessimistic. Yet, in evaluating the effectiveness of the Empowerment Act of 1993, Weissberg discusses evenhandedly the pros and cons of local programs, cautiously noting that a preliminary review gives such efforts overall low marks. Literally, billions of dollars in annual federal expenditures have been allocated for local empowerment programs over the years, even though few ask what has been gained as a result or why additional expenditures are needed for new federal efforts.

Accordingly, Weissberg reviews the record of empowerment programs for the Atlanta and Detroit area. In the case of the former, only 4 of 34 goals have been achieved to date despite ample revenue. Unlike the Atlanta program, which is hampered by bureaucratic red tape and administrative waste, the Detroit model has been successful because of the nature of the regional labor market. The presence of the big three auto makers, as well as subsidiary contracting firms, and the lure of corporate tax incentives, create favorable conditions for empowerment. However, most empowerment projects fall somewhere in between the Atlanta and Detroit experience, resembling the former more often than the later.

The superficial semantics of Clinton's "New Market Initiative" conveys the photo-op of a political exercise instead of a serious policy endeavor. Case in point: several corporate executives accompanied Clinton on his voyage to destitute localities, including Stephen Burd, chief executive officer of the Safeway supermarket chain. During a round-table discussion in Arizona, Burd promoted Safeway's "profitable" practice of investing in high-risk urban areas. Burd noted that extra security measures, like police substations, allow Safeway to expand into the inner-cities. Yet Burd neglected to point out that less than a year ago, Safeway closed "the last remaining full-service supermarket in Ward 8," a high-crime section of Washington, DC. Safeway's inconsistency in the decision to close the store, which operated at an annual loss of $500,000, merely reinforces Professor Weissberg's insightful apprehension over the disingenuous nature of empowerment politics. TSC

NOTES

[1] Jacoby, Tamar & Fred Siegel "Growing the Inner City?." *The New Republic* 8/23/99, pp. 22-27.

[2] Bingham, Walter Van Dyke *Aptitudes & Aptitude Testing,* Harper & Brothers 1927, p. 128.

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Considering Australia's Post-Imperial Identity

How can it be sustained with immigrant inflow?

Book Review by Mark Wegierski

Australian experience mirrors that of other Western nations today. In the aftermath of World War II and especially of the so-called Sixties revolutions, longstanding traditions of nation, religion, family, and law and order, have come under increasing attack in Western and European countries. While those countries in eastern and central Europe that would have embraced tradition as a democratic choice were consigned to be devoured by Stalin's terror-apparatus, in Western Europe and North America, a much different, and far "softer," psychological approach, was employed against the "old verities," by what later came to be called "the managerial-therapeutic regime." While ostensibly far "softer," the effects of the massive transformations engendered by the managerial-therapeutic regime (in conjunction with such discrete factors as the burgeoning media and technological revolutions), were in some ways as "total" and "thoroughgoing" as those attempted by Stalin.

Among the Barbarians
by Paul Sheehan
Sydney, Australia:
Random House
373 pages, $19.95 (Australian)

One of the most obvious effects of these various social revolutions was that the overarching national identities of many Western countries, which had, only a short time ago, appeared rock-solid, super-tough, and virtually impermeable, came under increasingly powerful attacks. Everything centered on traditional Western national identities somehow became contingent, weak, insupportable, highly questionable... There occurred not only the crumbling of the once-vast, Western colonial empires, but also the weakening of all the Western national cultures on their own home soil. Indeed, it became increasingly fashionable to describe such countries as Canada, the United States, and Britain as integrally and emphatically "multicultural."

Australia, which is perhaps the remotest of the European outposts with a large European-descended majority, has gone through this process as well. Paul Sheehan's book could be seen as a meditation on the past, present, and future of Australian identity. With the fading of British imperial identity as a serious force on the planet, Australia is likely to be beset with an ongoing identity crisis, much like Canada.

The Australian situation is in some ways more difficult than that of Canada. Australia is a manifestly "southern" continent, with a unique climate utterly different from that of Europe. The differences in the physical environment between English-speaking Australians' places of origin, and the unique Australian climate, can in themselves be seen as a source of psychic dissonance. Australia's environment is simply unlike any found in Europe.

Furthermore, Australia, with its population of nineteen million, lies relatively close to the many teeming Asian societies, such as India, China, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Demographically-speaking, it appears Australia will have almost no chance of weathering the coming population storm. What Sheehan appears to hope is that a new planetary ecological direction will help to prevent Australia from being overrun by such vast population

Mark Wegierski *is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

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movements, which would obviously utterly destroy the precarious Australian environment.

Finally, there is the issue of the Aboriginal Australian population, which although a tiny minority, is now having extensive privileges conferred on it, because of its cherished, indigenous status. This resembles the situation in Canada, where the rights of the majority of ordinary Canadians are undermined between the arising of the aboriginal peoples (Indians, Metis, and Inuit), who wish to "exclusively" claim all the rights and status of a native population, immemorially linked to the land, and the aggressive multiculturalism now espoused by visible minority leaderships.

Most Western nations today face a pressing problem of attempting some kind of positive reconstruction of their national identities, in the face of almost continual attacks. What is often needed is "a new national poetry." Indeed, Sheehan's book may be seen as a work of nation-building, similar in some ways to the endeavors of the Romantic poets of Continental Europe, though obviously more prosaic and matter-of-fact. It may be imagined that for many Australians, the book tugs on varied patriotic and emotional heartstrings.

Sheehan is quite astute in his attempted definition of a new, post-imperial Australian identity, which he obviously hopes will endure for far into the future.

These are among the most salient aspects of this identity, as sketched by Sheehan: (1) The emergence of Australia as an "ecological superpower," with control of all its surrounding waters and Antarctica. Very close attention and care is to be paid to the always fragile Australian environment. There is the necessity of population and immigration limitation because of the recognition of the comparatively small carrying capacity of the Australian continent. Australian ecological consciousness is seen as the polar opposite of Asian indifference to the environment. (2) There is the attempt to recognize and bring Aboriginal Australia into the Australian national identity, which is also related to the comparatively greater closeness of the Aborigines to the unique Australian environment (the vast, hot desert generally known as the Outback). Aboriginal Australia is seen as a counterweight to Asia and excessive Asian immigration. (3) The preservation of the broadly democratic, caring, sharing Australian welfare-state (or so-called "mateship") is hoped for, as against its overwhelming by too large numbers of newcomers, or by rapacious international corporations. (4) The recognition of certain aspects of quality of life, notably, the emphasis on sport as important to Australians - again a factor differentiating Australia from Asia.

"Labor spent more than a billion dollars building a system of patronage, dependence and influence among ethnic groups." (p.96)

Sheehan has certainly made a good attempt to weave together the various strands from which a newer, yet somewhat traditional Australian identity could emerge. What is also interesting is his description of the process by which traditional Australian identity was undermined — a process which appears to have parallels in almost every Western and European country.

The dynamic, which Sheehan is surprisingly frank in describing, consists of a liberal or left-liberal party opening the borders of a country to large, dissimilar immigration, grabbing continual electoral support from those immigrant groups (who are also usually given easier access to a country's citizenship than had traditionally occurred), while at the same time building power-blocs based on the diverting of state resources to immigrant spokespersons, and creating a whole new infrastructure of "multiculturalism." And part of this infrastructure is a series of laws and enforcement bodies directed against "hate-speech" and "hate-crimes" — which are often increasingly broadly defined to mean "any" criticism of the system.

While Sheehan's description of this dynamic is cogent, one matter he might have looked at more closely is the fact that the over-all electoral success of such a left-liberal party is often somewhat tangential to its immigration policies. For example, many native-born persons would vote for such a party because they perceive it as offering better social

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services, or better management of the economy. (It might indeed be a bit puzzling "why" immigration/multiculturalism is so zealously, doggedly, single-mindedly pursued by a portion of the elites, when it might not, in the final analysis, be "that" important to over-all electoral success.) Because of the apparent ease with which a liberal or left-liberal party builds coalitions, e.g., offering something for senior citizens, for small businesspeople, for young people, and so forth, it is extraordinarily difficult to have an election fought with opposition to high immigration and to the excesses of multiculturalism playing a prominent part. For example, Pauline Hanson's One Nation movement (about which Sheeehan writes extensively), has already virtually disappeared from Australian politics. In Canada, the right-leaning Reform Party appears unlikely to make headway against the perennial Liberal majority in the federal Parliament.

In the increasingly troubled times we face, a book such as Sheehan's can serve as one possible guiding light towards a better course of events. TSC

Wanted: Exemplary Heroes

Book Review by Joseph Daleiden

It has been more than thirty years since I read John F. Kennedy's book, *Profiles in Courage*, yet I still believe the book had a major influence on my life. The common theme of the biographies of a handful of Congressmen he discussed was their courage to take a position on an issue that they felt was right despite the consequences for their political future. They were outstanding examples of the kind of person I hoped to be if put to the test.

Today, the need for role models for young people has never been greater. In this cynical era when historians seem to be bent on proving not just that every American hero has feet of clay, but that they were downright wicked, it is refreshing to read a book that focuses on persons who did indeed accomplish great deeds, often overcoming significant obstacles. Most importantly, the 32 short biographical sketches provided in *Classic Americans* demonstrate that individuals can make a profound difference in the world.

Classic Americans
by Louise Lane and James Albert
New Rochelle, NY: Windham Press
300 pages, $14.00 paperback

Many of the persons discussed by authors Lane and Albert are the most revered in the American pantheon of statesmen, inventors and industrialists — George Washington, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, Alexander Graham Bell, Thomas Edison, the Wright brothers, Henry Ford and Andrew Carnegie. The lesser know luminaries are also included, such as Anne Hutchinson, Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, Jonas Salk, Rosalyn S. Yallow and C. J. Walker. Great athletes, poets, songwriters, and even the great animator, Walt Disney, all had one thing in common: they were individuals who succeeded despite the odds. Rather than lamenting their deprived backgrounds or the obstacles to success, they epitomized courage and

Joseph Daleiden *is executive director of the Midwest Coalition to Reform Immigration (MCRI). His most recent book is* The American Dream: Can It Survive the 21st Century? *published by Prometheus Books, Amherst, NY.*

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perseverance, virtues that have always been rare, but today seem all but forgotten.

To cite just a few examples: Thomas Paine's stirring patriotic writings were credited by George Washington with bolstering the morale of American troops through the darkest hours of the Revolutionary War. Paine was one of the first to support civil rights for all Americans, opposed injustices in England and France (where he spent time in prison), and had the audacity to criticize the Bible. For this last effort, Paine was vilified, ostracized, and forced into abject poverty, yet he never wavered in his pursuit of the truth.

Born into slavery, Booker T. Washington's life long quest to educate himself and other blacks led to his founding of the Tuskegee Institute whose primary purpose was to enable blacks to become self-sufficient through learning in both academic subjects and a trade.

Beginning in 1851, Susan B. Anthony spent fifty-five years crisscrossing the nation to organize the women's suffrage movement. Although she died before her dream was fulfilled, it was her indefatigable spirit, more than any other, that was responsible for gaining women the right to vote.

Starting as a lowly telegraph messenger, Andrew Carnegie built an empire in the manufacturing of steel that enabled him to become one of the first great American philanthropists, building 2,500 free lending-libraries in the United States, Canada and Great Britain.

The undauntable Thomas Edison failed 1,600 times in his efforts to develop a filament for his light bulb that did not burn out in a few minutes.

Of particular interest to those involved in immigration reform is Henry Ford who, when he was faced with a shortage of labor for his newly invented assembly line for producing autos, did not whine to the government to import more immigrant labor. Instead, he doubled wages from the prevailing rate of $2.50 a day to $5.00 to attract and maintain the labor.

We discover that Charles Lindbergh believed that freedom was not compatible with population density, that in his own lifetime he saw parking space disappear in New York City, and Long Island Sound become polluted — all due to population growth and out-of-control cities.

One common thread we find winding through these many remarkable lives is that they almost all were self-motivated individuals who as often as not had little in the way of formal education, and no public support of any kind. One wonders how this was possible when today classroom size is seen as a major determinant to individual success.

Classic Americans is written in a straightforward, easy-to- read style that should appeal to teenagers who, today more than ever, need role models other than obnoxious athletes, vulgar rock stars, opportunistic politicians and narcissistic Hollywood idols. One hopes to see the book taken into the public schools as a text.

It is unfortunate that in an effort to present so many examples, the book often gives short shrift to the individuals discussed. Taking only a few pages to summarize the life of a brilliant and intrepid person like Frederick Douglass makes it difficult to elicit a visceral response from the reader. Too often the deprivations and seemingly impossible hurdles which these individuals had to overcome to pursue their dreams are mentioned in only a few brief lines. On the other hand, given the attention span of American youth today, perhaps that is all they are capable of absorbing. Still, I would have liked to have seen the individuals depicted with a little more passion and personality. The cryptic encyclopedic descriptions of these courageous Americans drains them of the life and vitality that is necessary to generate an empathetic cord with the reader.

Nevertheless, in an age which places more emphasis on excuses for failure than motivation to succeed, *Classic Americans* is a worthwhile effort to demonstrate that our nation has produced many extraordinary persons who relied on their own initiative and tenacity to achieve goals which have benefitted succeeding generations. TSC

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Immigrants Replace Blacks in New York Jobs

Book Review by Scipio Garling

In *Still the Promised City?*, UCLA sociologist Roger Waldinger examines why immigrants have done better than black natives in securing unskilled jobs in New York's post-war economy. For the most part, nothing Waldinger says comes as a great surprise; ethnic niches are the key to economic advancement for minorities, recent immigrant groups compete with one another for entry-level work, ethnic communities tend to hire "their own kind." If you need a citation to back up any of these commonplaces, *Promised City* will come in handy (particularly if you're in New York City).

But behind all this, with some digging, you can find Waldinger's central thesis: blacks in New York don't get anywhere economically because immigrants take all the low-skilled jobs and leverage them into ethnic niches that native blacks, as "outsiders," can't break into:

> *Because New York's employers have repeatedly found lowest-level workers among migrants, attachment to unskilled jobs has rarely survived beyond the first generation. Thus, African-Americans have gradually fallen out of the market for low-level labor... First, the garment industry lost its black labor supply, as eroding wage conditions deterred young applicants and experienced workers found bettor prospects elsewhere. Then, the same fate befell the hotel industry in the 1960s and 1970s, when it added large numbers of West Indians and Dominicans to its ranks... We may already be seeing the same pattern among new immigrants, as indicated by the growth of Mexican and Central American laborers in industries or occupations in which Dominicans or Colombians had previously predominated* (p.308).

Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York
by Roger Waldinger
Cambridge: Harvard University Press
384 pages, $18.95 paperback

Disappointingly, Waldinger stops far short of concluding that immigration actually harms black Americans. Much of his writing is of the "all-this-immigrant-stuff-worked-out-fine-in-the-past-and-I'm-sure-it-will-again" style Still, Waldinger does acknowledge that this immigrant wave is different:

> *Unlike earlier waves, the new immigration appears not to respond to the ups and downs of the business cycle [and] no longer falls off when the economy slackens... Even if most of New York's new immigrants move onward and upward...this ethnic progress comes with a cost measured in...conflicts[.] In the scramble for jobs, the same ties that bring communities into the workplace also produce the motivation and the opportunity for excluding those New Yorkers who aren't members of the same ethnic club* (p.318).

Only in his last paragraph does Waldinger clearly concede that this Darwinian struggle could touch the native-born:

> *By converging on New York, the immigrants have also come to an area where earlier immigrants and domestic migrants moved up through economic specialization, establishing niches to which they often remained strongly*

Scipio Garling *is Chief of Research at FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform in Washington, DC.*

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> *attached. Until now, those specializations have largely gone unchallenged, since the newest arrivals have been content with the modest positions they have obtained to date. But the economic orientations of New York's newcomers will inevitably change and when they do, immigrants will begin to compete for native's jobs* (p.320).

Before you rush out to buy this book, a few warnings are in order. First, *Promised City* deals solely with New York City, and anyone hoping for broader evidence of immigrant-related job displacement will be disappointed. Second, Waldinger is writing for "his own kind" — other sociologists. The book is studded with serial exploded piecharts, tables of tiny numbers, and skyline bargraphs, none of whose meaning is intuitively obvious. Skillful explanation might make such seas of information navigable, but, unfortunately, Waldinger's prose isn't a compass crafted for the average reader; *Promised City?* is full of sentences like, "Multiple patterns of economic adaptation indicate that the responses to replacement demand did not follow automatically from the mechanical adjustment of the hiring queue."

Despite being sticky with "sociospeak," ambiguous about its findings, and tightly focused on the Big Apple, *Still the Promised City?* Is a useful addition to the arsenal of immigration reformers who are concerned with the effects of mass immigration on our country's least advantaged. TSC

The Rainbow Menace

People who do not believe in America are teaching our children

Book Review by James P. Lubinskas

Ever since the 1960s, multiculturalists have had their way in American universities and public schools. This book suggests that mainstream conservatives are now fighting back, though they still avert their eyes from the significance of race.

The Menace of Multiculturalism: Trojan Horse in America
by Alvin Schmidt
Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers
211 pages, $39.95

Alvin Schmidt, a professor of sociology at Illinois College, worries that multiculturalists are teaching minorities and Third-World immigrants to reject America's Western heritage because it is uniquely "racist," "sexist," and "homophobic." He argues that withholding Western values both hurts students and threatens to tribalize the nation. If non-white immigrants do not assimilate, "America will no longer be a melting but a boiling pot..."

Professor Schmidt makes quick work of the doctrine that all cultures are morally equal. He lists many examples of barbaric non-Western practices that are almost never mentioned in textbooks. He also points out the deception and hypocrisy of multiculturalists who claim, with straight faces, that smoke signals or shamanism are merely different from radio and modern medicine rather than inferior.

Schmidt has scoured college and grade school textbooks and tells a disheartening tale of what our children are taught. Many textbooks now downgrade legitimate European history and exaggerate the inventions and successes of other cultures. They leave out important historical events and overemphasize minor characters only because they are women or non-European-descended. Thus the *National Standards*

James P. Lubinskas *is the assistant editor of* American Renaissance *published monthly by the New Century Foundation.*

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curriculum leaves out Paul Revere, Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers, but makes room for Harriet Tubman, Cesar Chavez and W.E.B. DuBois. Of course, racism is strictly a one-way street: The Ku Klux Klan is a prominent example of American bigotry but the Black Panthers and Malcolm X are "civil rights" leaders and seekers of justice.

Professor Schmidt notes that although colleges brag about "diversity," they stifle diversity of opinions. Indiana University, Arizona State University and California State University have all "disinvited" conservative speakers like Patrick Buchanan and Linda Chavez because of pressure from minority groups that refused to allow people with views different from their own to come on campus. It is now common for black and homosexual groups to destroy copies of student newspapers that print columns they find offensive.

The author offers abundant evidence of the desirability of Western culture. He usefully catalogs the abuses, hypocrisies and lies of multiculturalism and shows how this offshoot of Marxism is now a religion complete with saints and infidels. He even goes beyond standard neoconservatism in noting that the 1965 immigration law that opened America to the Third World was a drastic measure fueled by "ignorance" and "white guilt," which "set the stage for the possible unraveling of America's culture." But in Professor Schmidt's view the unraveling is strictly a cultural matter. If only schools, churches and college would emphasize traditional American values, the newer immigrants would assimilate just like the European ethnics of old.

The son of German immigrants to Canada, Professor Schmidt makes much of the fact that he was made to conform to the mainstream culture of Western Canada. This included speaking English rather than German and putting aside the German heritage of his parents. Though he claims to have faced anti-German prejudice, he is glad he was made to embrace Canadian culture. He thinks that Asians, Hispanics, and blacks just need a dose of the same medicine.

Schmidt does not consider whether multiculturalism is a symptom of an even deeper problem – multiracialism – nor does he seem to doubt that with the right education large numbers of immigrants can be taught to embrace Western civilization. This curious faith in an outcome for which there is neither historical precedent nor current evidence is the book's obvious blind spot, but *The Menace of Multiculturalism* is still an important volume for anyone concerned about America's culture wars. TSC

News Briefs

CEO general counsel Roger Clegg testified on October 21,1 1999 before the House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, regarding HR 906, which would create a federal right-to-vote for felons. This bill would override the laws of those states — the majority — that limit the rights of felons to vote in federal elections.

Mr. Clegg pointed out that this bill is bad policy, and that in any event Congress has no authority to pass it. He stressed that voting is a right, but it is also a privilege," and that "it is not unreasonable to suppose that those who have committed serious crimes may be presumed to lack the trustworthiness and loyalty" we require of voters. He also noted that the Constitution gives the states the authority to determine who can vote, absent their violation of some other constitutional provision, and that it cannot be credibly asserted that the states have some invidious and discriminatory reason in limiting the voting rights of felons.

* * * *

The *Naples* (Florida) *Daily News* recently reported that the U.S. Department of Agriculture has refused to accept the current nominations to the Florida Tomato Committee, citing concerns about the lack of diversity among nominees.

The Florida Tomato Committee, made up of tomato growers, makes recommendations to the USDA concerning federal rules and regulations to govern the industry. In a letter sent to the Committee, Chairman Peter Harlee, Jr., the administrator of the USDA's Marketing Service brought the committee to task for not responding to a warning sent last year about the lack of women and minorities among the members.

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all previous issues and articles published in the journal are available. Use the powerful search engine at <thesocialcontract.com> to call up over 900 items covering all nine years of publication. THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS is on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com**. where one can find a list of books for sale.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring. By listing them here The Social Contract does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) <fairus.org>.
- "Immigration by the Numbers" <numbersusa.com>.
- English Language Advocates <elausa.org>.
- Affirmative Action for Immigrants <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>.
- Peter Brimelow, Scott McConnell, et al, <www.vdare.com>.
- <www.ecofuture.org> population information
- News and commentary on ethnic and other conflicts worldwide <antiwar.com>.
- Carrying Capacity Network <carryingcapacity.org>.
- Negative Population Growth <www.npg.org>.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News* <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff: <heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- The Sierra Club <sierraclub.org>.
- *People and Place* <swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee <canadafirst.net>.
- Voices of Citizens Together <americanpatrol.com>.
- Council of Conservative Citizens <cofcc.org>.
- Columnist Samuel Francis <www.samfrancis.net>.
- The Biocentric Institute <ultralink/net/IAPM>.
- "Stalking the Wild Taboo" <lrainc.com/swtaboo/>
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! <fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm>.
- Population and Sustainability <www.ecofuture.org/ecofuture/populat.html.>
- American Renaissance <amren.com>.
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law) <fedpub.com/immigration>.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS).
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth.
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN).
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS).
- <newsclips-subscribe@egroups.com> Conservative News Links.

And from the perspective of the opposition and their stand for open borders:

- The American Immigration Lawyers Association <aila.org/home.htm>.
- The Aztlan Organization <aztlan.org>.
- Political Ecology Group (PEG) <igc.org/peg>.

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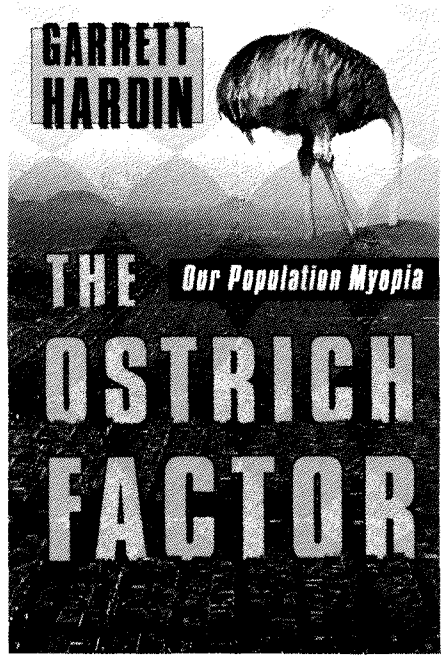
Always Welcome:

A New Book by Garrett Hardin

"With clear logic and imaginative insight, Garrett Hardin has again given us a strong helping hand in the unending task of overcoming denial of the tough issues in population, economics and ethics."

— Herman E. Daly, Professor, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

Garrett Hardin, one of our leading thinkers on problems of human overpopulation, here assails the recklessness and basic ecological ignorance of economists and others who champion the idea of unbounded growth. Economists consistently turn a blind eye to the one feature we share with all of our planet's inhabitants — the potential for irreversible environmental damage through overcrowding. Sure to spark controversy, this book underscores the urgency of our situation and reveals practical steps we must take to ensure the long-term survival of humankind.



Garrett Hardin is Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The founder of the field of human ecology, he is author of the seminal essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," which has been reprinted in over 100 anthologies, and the book *Living Within Limits* (Oxford), which won the 1993 Award in Science from the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He lives in Santa Barbara.

Oxford University Press
$22.00
ISBN: 0-19-512274-7

"Garrett Hardin has once again turned his delightful brilliance loose on the purpose and effectiveness of government in a democracy, the protection of each from all and all from each. No one feeds the intellectual fires of ecology's role in government better than Hardin."

— George M. Woodall, Director
Woods Hole Research Center

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